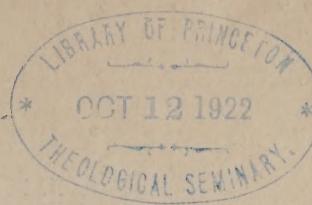




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THE WAR AND THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK.

A CHRISTIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

By Ernest Cushing Richardson.

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CONTENTS.

Introduction. The War and the Religious Outlook. A Christian League of Nations,	1-8
I. The Kingdom of Heaven, the Kingdom of Jesus Christ on Earth, and the Christian League of Nations,	9-28
The Kingdom of God.	
Peace.	
Freedom.	
Truth.	
A Nation of Nations.	
The Method of Peaceful Revolution.	
II. The Essentials of a Christian League of Nations,	29-63
Enabling Power.	
Prayer.	
Collective Prayer.	
Future Life.	
Removal of Fear.	
Responsibility.	
Christian Love.	
Love of Enemies.	
Christian Faith.	
Righteousness.	
Christian Righteousness.	
As.	
The Right to Mercy.	
The One Essential.	
III. Christian Principles, the League and the Treaty. Self-criticism, Criticism.	63-90
Merits of the Treaty.	
Defects of the Treaty.	
1. Humility.	
2. Verity.	

- 3. Good Faith.
- 4. Trust.
- 5. Coöperation.
- 6. Kindness.
- 7. Equality.

Conclusion.

IV. A Christian League,	90-102
1. It will be the result of coöoperative thinking.	
2. It will be a league of all nations, not a league of Christian nations.	
3. It will be founded on the sovereignty of the individual, and will not, therefore, be a league of governments.	
4. It will be a league of strongly individualized nations.	
5. Its object will be to ensure permanent peace and freedom by applying the principles of coöperation, kindness, good faith, trust and equality.	
6. Its prime motive will be coöperation in the production of goods.	
7. The task of coöperation will be carried out under the dominant principle of kindness.	
8. The matter of good faith and trust.	
9. The matter of equal observance of rights.	
10. It will provide adequate machinery to make effective all these principles of coöperation, kindness, good faith and equal observance.	
11. It will hold fast to all that is good in the present covenant; all of its principles, and much machinery.	
12. It will proceed in its work with the overmastering and uncompromising passion for truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.	
V. Method and Program,	102-7
Securing a League.	
Forming a League.	
Unity of Operation.	

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THE WAR AND THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK.

A CHRISTIAN LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

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INTRODUCTION.

When the experience of the war is looked over as a whole—causes, methods, settlement, reconstruction—the outstanding fact is that all solutions of the riddle of human society have broken down under the war test save one. The only answer left is Jesus Christ. Unless He is real there is no social salvation. The religious outlook from this fact is, in a nutshell, a Christian league of nations or chaos.

Just before the war most men had their hope set in a theory of gradual, uniform, resistless betterment or growth in righteousness—each generation being better than the last. Some inward principle, germ, trend or urge in every man drove straight to perfection or unfolded like flower from bud. This was vaguely called evolution. At that time most Americans and some Europeans believed that men had already become so much better than their forbears that a general war was impossible.

The very outbreak of war, of course, killed this idea. War was clearly not impossible, nor unfolding righteousness uniform and uninterrupted. It soon developed that war not only was, but was more deadly than ever before dreamed. Perfection had not yet come.

Moral self-complacency, however, died hard. The idea of slow, sure and universal evolution was dead, but rose again in a theory of evolution by sudden change or mutation. It might be, after all, that there were earthquakes in social as well as geologic development: Perhaps war itself was social earthquake and labor the social volcano. Someone let fall the idea that this was a war to end war, and men pounced eagerly upon it. Most men, they concluded, still are, in fact, better than their fathers and better still than their grandfathers. The world obviously does move, but as a majority in spots and by large improvements, not unanimously and every-

where in small improvements. Some men are very much better than Adam, it is true, but others are even worse—there is degeneration as well as evolution. War is caused by these degenerates: It can only end through wiping out or crushing those who will to have war. Disarmament follows crushing automatically: war ends war. It gradually became clear to war logic that Prussians were the only human beings who really loved militarism. British, French, Italians, Cossacks, Senegalese, Bulgarians, Turks, Bavarians, and even Prussian civilians, loved peace. The task became simple—to crush Prussian militarism—the Prussian military caste. This type was certainly the terrible example of war mania, and most of us came to believe it that it held a monopoly. The war to end war became a holy crusade. It proved irresistible. Prussian militarism was utterly crushed and its members politically annihilated. But war was not dead. The old one was broken into some twenty odd parts, all alive, and a few new ones were added. War was not dead, but the idea that crushing Prussian militarism would end war was. The Peace Conference drove nails in its coffin.

Still, the world does move, and the proof of it seemed to lie in the very fact that men generally and eagerly had jumped at the idea of ending war. A few stood up for war as useful to human character; more regarded it as a necessary but detested evil; but most men, as it proved, looked on war as something which can and should be ended. This general reaction of men to the idea that war not only should but can be ended was the first symptom of the most hopeful phenomenon during the war for the outlook after the war—the instant, energetic and universal reaction of all well-disposed men of all religions, philosophies and irreligions, in all lands and at all times, to certain ideas heretofore considered counsels of perfection; the disgrace of hatred, the sacredness of one's word, the rights of small nations to their rights, democracy, self-determination, and justice.

These sum up as loyalty, justice, equity, coöperation, and they are often called Christian principles, but they are common to all true religions, the axioms of the long experience of mankind in its dealing with God, and they are at bottom simply the common experience of mankind as to what will work in the long run in this kind of a universe that we live in.

It was not surprising that the best thinkers should accept these ideas; they always have done so. What was surprising was to find that the ideas had so permeated human society as to provoke instant, universal and energetic reaction to them by the man in the street, and to such degree that the use of any one of certain words or phrases was enough stimulus for definite reaction—hatred, scrap of paper, safe for democracy, self-determination,

the sanctity of treaties, sacred obligation of international undertakings, etc.

Lissauer's Hymn of hate, for example, instantly drew forth the unanimous and unqualified judgment, first from enemies and then from friends as well, that hatred is a disgrace to any people. In the same way, the phrase a "scrap of paper" became a symbolic declaration of the sacredness of plighted words and the expression of a universal conviction that the *ne plus ultra* of human wrong-doing, the very heart of sin, was the violation of formal undertakings.

This really surprising fact of instant and universal reaction to these ideas was promptly seized upon by responsible statesmen as a means of enlisting coöperation in the war. English labor, e. g., was expressly won in the Belgian case by the plea for good faith and the rights of small neutrals. In the same way multitudes of pacifists, anarchists and religionists, who disbelieved in the need for this war or for any war, were won over by the vivid horror of militarism in action and the promise that this should be a war to end all this, a war to end war, a fight for peace, a struggle to the finish against Prussian militarism as symbol of the logical consequence of the military spirit.

This promise to end war appealed especially to two classes, both organized, though at opposite poles, to promote peace and the brotherhood of man—the international socialists and the Christians.

Socialist internationalism tends toward law-resisting pacifism and anarchism; Christianity toward strict obedience to law and high organization; but both count coöperation or brotherhood the first duty of man, and peace-making and keeping the first essential of this duty.

In particular, many Americans from both these groups were won over to the entrance of America into the war by the promise that allied victory should mean the end of militarism, dictation to small neutrals, oppression of subject peoples, and the like. They took the promise seriously. Whatever happens, history will not deny that fighting the war on the part of the American people at large was a conscious fight in good faith for those principles and its zeal founded on the promise that in case of victory these principles should prevail on earth.

Crystallized into standard phrases, these principles became first a creed, then a program. This creed was accepted by the allied chanceries and religiously repeated on all useful occasions. The program was erected into a contract by its formal acceptance and the payment of consideration by humanity and in the armistice even by the enemy.

President Wilson became the spokesman of humanity in this matter, his

principles its creed, his fourteen points its program. As these motives, one after another, were introduced into the object for which we fought, the war became more and more a crusade for righteousness, justice, and organized peace. All that was necessary for the millennium was victory and Prussian military autocracy, the incarnation of the Spirit of Evil, trampled under foot.

The complete collapse of Germany gave her victors a free hand, and the world watched with high hopes for the working out of its salvation by the Peace Conference. America looked for the promised fruits of victory—justice, freedom, good faith, disarmament, respect for the weak. The Peace Commissioners, backed by the solid opinion of mankind of all races, nations, religions and philosophies, met to prepare a peace of justice, where right should take the place of might and all men unite to insure peace, where failure to keep contracts should be the supreme sin and the only just occasion for war, where coöperation should be promoted and military preparedness unnecessary.

By this time the immediate problem had crystallized into two issues: ending the war and the labor question, broadened into the insurance of permanent peace and the establishment of social justice by international agreement, with its method defined as a league of nations.

It was under these circumstances that the writer of this memorandum began a paper [annexed herewith] on the essentials of international coöperation. It was prepared from the standpoint of comparative religion, and was intended to suggest that, after all, the essential ingredients of a true and permanent millennium were few, simple, and accepted by all creeds and nations—the will to coöperate, agreement as to the objects for coöperation, keeping the agreements, and the equal obligation of both parties to keep agreement.

This paper was begun before the league covenants were published, and finished for a meeting of the American Library Institute on March 7th, 1918—just after President Wilson started on his return to France for the second chapter of the Peace Conference.

At this time discussion of the covenants of the League of Peace had already proved them to be a little disappointing in details. They did, nevertheless, put squarely at the front the chief essentials—the will to coöperate and the sacredness of agreements. They provided, moreover, means for revision. This covered the chief matters, and the project was therefore welcomed as a long step in the right direction, a scheme to be seized upon and improved at leisure, under the declared purposes of the preamble;

coöperation, keeping faith, clear agreements, and, implied in the sacredness of agreements, equal rights for small and great.

After the return of President Wilson to Paris matters began to develop rapidly, but to the consternation of the naive, not in the direction of keeping faith, disarmament, democracy, or coöperation, but on the old lines of compelling others to keep faith, to disarm and to labor for the strong, and with the methods of the old diplomacy—secret discussion, secret treaties, bargains, compromises, evasions, and, above all, the gentle art of throwing dust in the eyes—America generally facing the wind. At last even President Wilson had to confess to himself the creeping in of a certain measure of necessary compromise, in which public promises to the people, in the name of peoples, had been obliged to give way before secret agreements between more or less authorized government officials, and General Smuts registered a protest.

In the end a treaty was submitted to the American people through its Senate which contained the plan of a League of Nations, reaffirming in the most positive way the principles of good faith and justice, international law as the actual rule of conduct between governments and breach of faith as the supreme offence, together with peace conditions which seemed to most to violate these very principles and to be confessedly, to some degree at least, a violation of “the solemn obligation of international undertakings,” in the matter of the fourteen points.

Under these circumstances the cynics laughed and said, I told you so beforehand—as they surely had. They had, e. g., told the President’s expert advisers plainly that the diplomats would have little use for fact or pre-victory promises or international law. They would get together, give and take, and get the utmost advantage that each one could for his country over others—and that is all that there would be to it. It has always been so, and always will be so, they said, with peace conferences. It lies in human nature and the nature of government and diplomacy. This is what diplomacy is.

Those who had been enthusiasts, on the other hand, as always under disillusion, took counsel of despair and stampeded: socialists towards anarchism, the religious towards millenarianism. If this sort of thing is inherent in government, said the socialists, then anarchism is better; down with governments. If by nature of human nature this is necessary to human society as long as this world lasts, then, said the religious, the sooner the world is burned up and a new one made the better.

In their haste these men said many bitter and some true things. They said that the treaty was worse than Brest-Litovsk; that to take one hundred and

forty thousand cows from children, already reduced by blockade, was worse than undersea fighting; that disarmament by dividing up the fleets of the vanquished and distributing them among the victors was a travesty on disarmament; that loyalty to our allies was put above loyalty to our own country; that hatred, treaty-breaking, militarism, legitimate aspiration after neighboring territory and goods though Prussian vices were Allied virtues; that the people had been deceived, fooled, humbugged; that Lloyd George cared more for pre-election promises than pre-victory promises; that Clemenceau should be put out of power; that President Wilson should be impeached.

Less emotional men deprecated this wild talk. They gave some of the negotiators credit for good intention, others for sincere self-righteousness, others for unfeigned patriotism under the old-fashioned standard and the old-fashioned diplomatic methods, others for unfeigned internationalism, if without too nice a loyalty to national rights; above all, they recognized that, when all had been said, the idea of a league of nations to end war had been taken out of the realm of mere ideals and embodied in a tangible form for enactment. They recognized that whatever the demerits of the treaty or of league covenants, a certain measure of credit must be attached to those who, like General Smuts and President Wilson, through all difficulties, persisted in the far-off vision and clung desperately to the realization of the fact that the only hope of permanent peace lay in some organized method of insuring it.

When all had been said, however, few thinking men, even among the negotiators, counted the result satisfactory or creditable, either in itself or as a performance of the promises. Some said, we were promised a league of all nations and they gave us a league of a few nations; or, we were promised a league and they gave us an alliance; or, we were promised a league to end war and they gave us a league in unholy matrimony with a treaty to provoke war. Others said that the league is radically wrong in setting up administrative machinery before judicial and legislative; that it is framed on oligarchical principles by oligarchical methods, and is contrary to democracy; Americans said that it was injurious to American interests in the matter of the Monroe Doctrine, British representatives, and in sundry other matters.

As the discussion went on in the United States Senate events developed in Asia Minor, Russia, China and the Adriatic, and members of the Paris Conference began to give inside information; conclusions were unchanged, but the facts became clearer. The fourteen points were, it was agreed,

given no serious consideration and rarely mentioned at the conference; actual terms were framed on the basis of secret agreements between groups of allies made before and after the entrance of America into the war—framed, however, without the assent or knowledge of the American Senate, or even of the President, and contrary to the understanding of the American people in entering the war and approving the armistice. The net result of the treaty emerged as a real satisfaction of the “national aspirations” of European allies after their neighbors’ land, their neighbors’ men servants and maid servants, their neighbors’ cows and ships, and everything that was their neighbors, and an ostensible satisfaction of America’s sole national aspiration in its covenants for a League of Nations.

The preamble to the covenants does, in fact, contain all that America asked for—except Hamlet—coöperation, justice, international law the actual rule of conduct and the binding nature of agreements are all there, but when it comes to the practical application of these principles to the treaty, “never has the substance of a treaty of peace so grossly betrayed the intentions which were said to have guided its construction as is the case with this treaty.” The treaty, which starts with the will to coöperate, “flies in the face of everything which binds man to man.” This the representative of the British Treasury at the Peace Conference finds to be the fact as to the value of America’s sole consideration.

As a matter of fact, it is not hearsay at all—the “intentions” are embodied in the treaty itself, as well as their betrayal, and the league covenants actually begin with the profession that its main aim is to promote “everything which binds man to man,” i. e., coöperation.

Many explanations have been offered for the reluctance of the American public to accept the league at its face value. At bottom the reason was very simple and very American: it felt fooled: what was promised had not been performed, “somebody had put something over on Wilson,” gold had somehow been turned to clay, a plan to secure permanent peace had been changed to a plan to protect gratified national aspirations against the new national counter-aspirations which had been roused by the gratification.

Americans may like to be fooled now and then, but they are sensitive to being fooled “all the time,” and especially to that obvious fooling which used to be called “humbug” and is now called “putting something over” on one—or perhaps diplomacy. A written document professing one thing and practicing another strikes an American this way—the apostles and evangelists used still stronger terms for this typical situation.

The most curious and hopeless aspect of the whole matter was, however,

not the self-contradictions of the treaty itself. It was the apparent fact that the self-contradictions were not cynical, but in good faith. There was a certain surprising sincerity, or rather naïveté, at least on the part of Messrs. Clemenceau and Wilson, in the matter. Mr. Wilson actually sees no great difference between this treaty and the fourteen points. M. Clemenceau really believes that reparation should follow responsibility.

This is the classic Christian situation “for where I would do good evil is present with me.” The net fact is—at least, the net fact for socialists and Christians—that war has not ceased. Armaments go on. If the Germans sink the ships intended to increase the French armament, Britain guarantees the increase somehow. Weak neutrals are imposed on, land-grabbing is rife, the only thing that we have offered us is a league which cannot even secure the application of its own principles to the treaty which constitutes it. Everybody still believes in the principles, reiterates them, plumes himself on having them—and things go on as before, and a little more so. All men would do justice, keep faith and coöperate, but where they would do good evil is present with them: all preach against treaty-breaking, hatred, injustice, and practise the same thing. Who shall deliver the world from the body of this death, for where it would do good evil is present with it. Men who disapprove hatred and injustice not only consent to but practice the same things.

In this situation the logical Christian finds himself forced to the conviction that if world salvation is to be found at all it is not in what Christianity has in common with other religions, but in that wherein it differs from all other religions—that is, in Jesus Christ, and, more especially, in the enabling power which Jesus Christ gives, first, to recognize in one’sself the faults which one plainly recognizes in others, and, second, to do right when one wishes to do right.

This judgment once reached and it leads infallibly to a League of Nations based on uncompromising, utterly Christian, principles—this league reformed or another league overwhelming it.

I.

The Kingdom of Heaven, the Kingdom of Jesus Christ on Earth, and the Christian League of Nations.

The question, What is Christianity? is the question, What is its object or chief end? This is the test of every religion, and the answer to the question is to be found, not in a religion's creed or theology or sermons, or even poetry, but in its prayers. What a man prays for is what he most wants—his real object in life. In the same way a religion's efforts at prayer are the revelation of its real object and essence. This is above all true of the Christian religion, which has not only a master creed in the two commandments and a master exposition of this creed in the Sermon on the Mount, but a master prayer in the Lord's Prayer. Here, better than anywhere else in the New Testament, is to be found the mind of Jesus Christ as to His mission on earth.

This prayer was framed by the Founder himself. A disciple asked to know what His followers should pray for. They wanted to know what the real gist of this gospel or mission of Jesus was: what He wanted them to want. Christ's answer was the Lord's Prayer.

The prayer has to do, first, foremost and at length, with the coming of the kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth among men—the concrete state or commonwealth in which God is recognized as God (Hallowed be Thy name), and His Will is the actual rule of human conduct (Thy Will be done). Following this briefly and almost casually, the prayer sums up and dismisses all the ordinary things that men want and pray for in a single petition for daily bread. Finally, this prayer deals with the kingdom of God which is within, liberation from the consequences (forgiveness), the threat (temptation), and the power of evil. This is Christ's teaching in a nutshell. The goal is God's kingdom on earth; the necessary step is God's kingdom within a man; all else is negligible. Jesus Himself went about "preaching the kingdom of God." The phrase occurs so often in His sermons that it has been called His watchword; but it is more than this: it is the object of His coming, the theme of all His teaching, the exclusive work of His followers. It is the essence of Christianity. "Take no thought what ye shall eat or

drink, or where withal ye shall be clothed, but seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness."

The Kingdom of God.

This kingdom of God as the final goal of Jesus Christ and of Christianity has three aspects in the New Testament teaching. Abstractly, it is simply a state of peace and freedom, founded on truth, and accompanied by joy. "The kingdom of God is righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost"—who is the Spirit of Truth. The object of Christ's coming as given in the Gospels is manifold: to bring peace and great joy, to proclaim liberty, to bear witness to the truth, to fulfill righteousness, to save sinners, to redeem. Jesus is Saviour, Redeemer, Prince of Peace, King of Righteousness, the Word and the Truth. The kingdom of God is the sum of all these objects, and they may be grouped as peace, freedom and truth.

In its concrete application the phrase "the kingdom of God" has two aspects. It is a state within and a state without—both being states of peace, freedom and truth. In the one case it is the soul of a man who has achieved inward peace, freedom, and therefore joy, through his "obedience to the truth;" or, in other words, by his obedience to the will of God as expressed in the teachings of Jesus Christ. Christ dwells in and rules such a man, every thought being brought, it is said, in subjection to Jesus. This is the kingdom of heaven which is within. It is a common mistake to suppose that the main object of Jesus Christ was to secure this individual redemption or salvation, and that the main object of redemption was to secure immortality for individuals. Nothing is farther from the fact. The main object was social redemption, and individual redemption was not so much an end in itself as a means to insure permanent social peace and liberty. This mistake has cost the world dear. It has won for the Church the bitter contempt of the organized proletariat. This contemptuous attitude is wholly unjust in so far as it looks on Christians generally as on a "mad scramble" each after his own salvation. This is far from true. All true Christians are earnestly striving after their neighbors' salvation—and those who are not so striving for the most part are too confident of their own salvation to scramble for it. The truth is, however, that many Christians, even the most earnest evangelists and missionaries, think that salvation really does mean seeking future life and happiness and persuading others to seek this, rather than joining and persuading others to join, with all their hearts, in the great fight for social freedom, peace and righteousness. The fact is that individual

redemption itself is only found in this whole-hearted effort for social redemption. The man who scrambles after eternal life for himself loses it, but he who seeks social redemption thereby saves his own life. Man is such a being that he only wins permanent inward peace and freedom by striving for public peace and social freedom: individual salvation is more than anything else, salvation from the habit of self-seeking, self-centering, and is a salvation unto the habit of externalized effort or self-expression. Altruism is the prime natural law of human survival—effort for the salvation of others, not their extermination.

The reason why the power of Christians today is not greater is doubtless to be found at this very spot—spiritual self-seeking rather than material self-seeking. Self-seeking of any sort dries up power, and this is the worst of the whole matter. It also excites repulsion. It is not an edifying spectacle—hence a just proletarian contempt for self-seeking Christianity. Men ready to lay down their lives for an ideal, even a mistaken ideal, have little patience with men who seem to put their main energies on prolonging their own lives—whether on earth or in heaven—and they are right, according to Jesus Christ. Only the passion for social righteousness and peace can save man from his inward unrest and give him permanent peace and liberty.

Individual redemption is nevertheless, when all has been said, the necessary step to the goal. Man being what he is, there is no other way of producing social peace and freedom than by the leavening process—producing in one man after another the state of permanent peace, liberty and truth—the kingdom of heaven which is within. To produce this, however, it is necessary to produce in a man the passion to insure permanent social peace and freedom by the only possible method, i. e., by securing the coöperation of all men in an organized commonwealth in which truth or right or the will of God—in short, the teaching of Jesus—is the actual rule of conduct, whether between individuals or between nations. Underlying all this is some profound fact of human personality, by virtue of which the soul bent on the goal of an organized social state of peace, freedom or truth, ruled by Jesus Christ, so organizes his own soul as not only to produce the state of peace, and unfailing joy in this life, but makes it capable of resisting the disintegration of death—and the more vigorous the social purpose the more surely immortal the soul, so that a man who is utterly careless of his personal life when the common welfare—e. g., the national life—is concerned is the more certain to exist joyfully through every calamity—even death.

Another profound mistake as to the matter of the kingdom of Christ, or a Golden Age on earth, which is made by both Christians and non-Christians,

but especially by non-Christians, is to suppose that this is an economic problem. The current notion of a league of nations is based on this fallacy. It frankly supposes international human intercourse chiefly a matter of economic relations, permanent peace to be sought for the sake of economic freedom, and it proposes to substitute economic warfare and blockade for military and naval warfare. Even the Church, awakened to some responsibility towards the social revolution, seems to look on this substitution of economic brutality for physical brutality as a real or the real solution. Worse still than this, the Church tends to look on its duty, at the point of the economic problem even, as chiefly one of industrial adjustment and betterment, and as concerning labor, wages, recreation, housing, and the like. This is utterly cart before the horse—contrary certainly to Christ's vision of the kingdom of earthly peace, freedom and truth, and contrary as well to all pragmatic reason or common sense—to all human experience of what will work in the world. All human experience points to Jesus Christ's law as a law of nature. "Seek ye first the state of unfailing social justice, righteousness and coöperation, and not only will peace, liberty and joy be gained, but all economic gains will follow, and many times over." This is simple common sense. Get permanent peace and coöperation between nations and all the economic goods of mankind may be easily and quickly multiplied tenfold. In short, the kingdom of Jesus Christ does not seek first daily bread, but permanent peace, freedom and truth—nevertheless, bread follows, ten fold and even an hundred fold.

The best way of getting at the real meaning of the kingdom of God for present world conditions is to follow out the three threads which unite in the conceptions of the kingdom—the three purposes for which Christ is said to have come into the world: peace, freedom, truth. Each of these is introduced as if it were the exclusive object, and in the last analysis all prove to be aspects of the same reality.

Peace.

The most familiar of the declared objects of Christ's coming to earth is peace, and peace in the gospels is the highest good, the supreme end of human life: it is life made perfect: it is, as the Norse say, the topmost branch of the tree of life. He came, it is said, "to guide our feet into the way of peace;" to bring an era of "peace on earth among men." When He invoked upon His followers the highest possible blessing it was the familiar benediction "peace." When He left His disciples this was His unique

legaey, "Peace I leave with you." When He comes again it will be to establish on earth a kingdom of peace. He is Priuce of Peace. This peace which Jesus Christ comes to bring is thus not simply inward peace; it is social, industrial, political world peace, and in all its aspects it is the undisturbed state, "Let not your hearts be troubled." It is the normal state in which a man goes about his business without interruption or interference—where everything goes as it was intended to go. It is life itself free from disturbance, friction, interference or hindrance. Disturbed or frustrated life is the life of pain and conflict. Jesus Christ came to restore the normal undisturbed life.

Freedom.

Again, Jesus Christ came, as the prophets say, to proclaim liberty, or, as He himself said to His fellow-townsmen in Nazareth, to "proclaim release" and "to set at liberty." This liberty is the good tidings of great joy or gospel which He came to bring, summed up in a word. Liberty is, it is said, the "perfect law of the Christian," and it is held that there is no freedom save the "freedom with which Christ sets free." The whole idea of "salvation" or "redemption" is, of course, to set free. Christ is the great Liberator. This Christian idea of liberation, redemption or salvation, has been applied so intensely to the idea of saving the individual from the consequences of his trespasses in a future life and the common use of the terms has been so narrowed that it is hard to realize that the final object of redemption is not man, but mankind; not individual liberty, but social and political freedom. Yet this is the fact.

It is true, of course, that a state is not free unless all its members are free; true, too, that in the order of nature personal self-sovereignty precedes national self-sovereignty. The Christian idea is not lacking at this point. No system of human thought has so emphasized the self-sovereignty of the individual, personal and political, as the Christian. Liberty in the New Testament, as in reality, is self-sovereignty. It is the ability of every man or nation to act according to his or its own judgment in private affairs, without external interference—the right to do as he pleases. This independent sovereignty of the individual, whether man or state, is the essential of peace, whether inward, private or public, and is the prime element of human nature. It is the sine qua non of personality itself, the element without which a man ceases to be man, a state to be a state. To destroy

self-sovereignty in a man is to kill his soul, and to destroy self-sovereignty in the state is to destroy the state. The person or the nation which is not free, whose self-sovereignty is not respected, ceases to be and becomes absorbed in something else. Man is not man without liberty. This is so true, according to Christian teaching, that man must be left free even to ruin himself—free “to be damned if he wills”—so far as the use of force is concerned. Freedom of the will is a necessary fact of human nature. A man cannot be saved in spite of himself by force. He can be redeemed only by reason and example, working together to persuade him to let himself be saved. Christianity is, therefore, ultimate democracy because it does insist on the absolute freedom of the individual—the right of self-sovereignty.

Nevertheless, it is true that social, not individual, freedom is the goal: Jesus Christ is the Saviour, not of individuals, but of mankind. He does redeem individuals, but His final object is social redemption. His purpose is to liberate the human race, to make alive all sons of Adam, “for as in one man all died, so in one man shall all be made alive.” The real fact is, the Gospel says, that both man and society have lost their peace because they have lost their liberty. They need to be redeemed, saved, set free—re-established in their self-sovereignty. Liberated from the consequences, the threat and the power of evil, they become free, and therefore have peace. Hence the prayer in the Lord’s Prayer for forgiveness, for protection against, and deliverance from, evil.

The liberty which Christ came to proclaim, the so-called Gospel message of salvation or redemption, is thus, in Christian teaching, the restoration of human freedom, private and public. It begins with freedom of thought, proceeds to freedom of speech, press and assembly, passes to organized national freedom, and points to organized international liberty. In each of these phases Christian liberty means, not only the right, but the ability of each man or nation to act within the field of his or its own affairs without let or hindrance—in short, plain freedom in its plain aspects—self-control, self-sovereignty, for every individual son of Adam, and for all men organized in and as one Person, i. e., Society.

Truth.

Finally, as Jesus Christ himself says, He came into the world “to bear witness to the truth.” “To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world that I shall bear witness to the truth.” The word truth is the heart of the whole matter. Truth is the foundation of both peace and

liberty. The word truth is, therefore, the key word of the kingdom of God, within or without; the key word thus of the Christian religion. It is, in consequence, perhaps the greatest word in the world. The reformers held faith for such a word; modern Christians generally hold, with a famous mystic scientist, that love is the "greatest thing in the world," but to Jesus Christ and His apostles truth was this word, and Jesus Christ was Truth. Three things abide, faith, hope, love, and the greatest of these is love, but truth is abiding itself, the foundation of all three. Faith is nothing in itself, hope is nothing, love is nothing. A man may believe a lie, hope in a lie and love a lie. Men speak of faith or "the will to believe" as if this were somehow the essence of religion, whereas in fact the mere will to believe may be worse than nothing: it spells mere credulity and superstition. Belief in the truth is, on the other hand, everything, but the emphasis is on truth, not belief. So, too, of love of the truth and hope in the truth: Belief on, love of and hope in the truth are the foundation of all liberty, peace and joy; the necessary means of redemption, whether individual or social.

There is hardly a teaching of the New Testament which is not linked up somehow with and founded on this idea of truth. Jesus Christ himself is Truth; He came into the world to bear witness to the truth; truth came through Jesus Christ; His Spirit is truth, His Word is truth. It is the truth which makes free, which regenerates, which sanctifies. Knowledge of the truth is eternal life. A man is saved by belief on the truth. He is saved unto a knowledge of the truth. Truth and righteousness are one. On the other hand, evil is untruth. Unrighteousness is untruth. Error is error from the truth. It is impossible for God to lie, whereas Satan is a liar and the father of lies. Satan works through lying wonders. Men perish because they receive not the love of the truth, but believe a lie. They perish because of the ignorance that is in them. Everyone who loves or makes a lie is "without" heaven. The only man who is lost beyond all hope of redemption, according to the New Testament, is the man who sins against the Spirit of Truth, or who deceives his own self.

All these teachings lead to the central teaching "Believe on the Lord Jesus and thou shall be saved," and to the fact that this belief in Jesus Christ saves because He is the truth and man's mind or personality is of such nature that salvation depends on belief in the truth, disbelief of untruth. Redemption or salvation is, in the teaching of Jesus Christ, a liberation from the dangers of untruth: its insidious attack (lead us not into temptation), its relentless mastery (deliver us from evil), its consequence (forgive us our trespasses).

To understand the Christian religion one cannot take too much pains to understand clearly this fact that man's person or soul being what it is, the man who thinks, speaks and acts truly is on the road to uninterrupted and unending life, freedom, peace and joy, while every man and every nation without this fidelity to triple truth is straight on the way to discontent, misery, unrest, limitation and disintegration.

This leads to Pilate's question, What is truth? What indeed really is this truth which is the foundation of peace, liberty and joy, to bear witness to which Christ was born and came into the world, and of which He can say, "I am the Truth," and the answer to this question is simpler than is commonly supposed. Truth in the Christian sense is truth in the plain every-day sense in which one speaks of believing the truth, telling the truth, being true, acting truly--there is literally nothing mystical or mysterious about it. It is the truth which can be believed, known, plighted, kept, done. It means true knowledge, true speech, true objects, true actions. These are what produce the kingdom of peace, liberty and joy within or in society.

This answer, to be sure, provokes farther questions as to what it is to be true, how this makes for peace and liberty, and in what sense Jesus Christ is Truth.

The idea that Jesus Christ is Truth is not a figure of speech, but in order to understand its reality one must go a little nearer the danger fields of philosophy and theology. This is, however, worth while because the idea lies at the very core of the world league problem; and, after all, the answer is almost as simple as the original answer that plain every-day truth is Truth, if one sticks to the common speech uses of the word and finds the meaning common to these common uses. These common uses include believing truth, knowing truth, telling truth, plighting troth, keeping truth, doing truth, obeying truth. They include truth in nature; scientific, philosophical and religious truth, and truth in art. They include true ideas, true objects, (a true color, weight, measure, line, square, wall), true thinking, feeling, acting, being, &c. The uses involve ideas which are true, words which are true, actions or deeds which are true, and objects which are true.

Truth, then, is all these things; (1) a fact of nature or real object, and the organized sum of all such real objects, which we call the universe or the macrocosm; (2) an idea or organized sum total of such ideas, i. e., scientific truth, the inward image of the outward universe, the microcosm; (3) a new idea, i. e., a creative or artistic idea built up out of true ideas, itself having no preceding counterpart in the outward world, but true to reality in all its parts and in the principles on which those parts are arranged; (4) a true

word, expression or "utterance"—whether a statement of fact or of purpose; (5) a true action; (6) a true work of art, whether useful or fine art, i. e., an object produced by the human mind.

All these aspects of truth find their unity in the idea of exact agreement: an idea is true when it agrees exactly with the fact or object; a word or other art object is true when in exact agreement with idea; a deed is true when in exact agreement with word. The circle from reality to reality is made complete in the idea of the whole real universe as an artistic creation in a state of exact agreement with the creative ideas or the will of God.

Truth is thus at bottom exact agreement. Some, it is true, make "systematic coherence" or organization, rather than agreement, the heart of the matter, but systematic coherence itself rests on agreement; it is the agreement of things with one another.

This idea of systematic coherence is closely associated with the ideas of wholeness, unity, integrity, self-consistency, permanence and stability. Subtleties aside, all these conceptions imply a whole of parts in agreement with one another and with a head; they are classified or "organized," and this state is a state of self-consistency or systematic coherence. At bottom, consistency or coherence is the agreement of ideas, words, acts or objects with one another. If the statements of a witness on the stand are inconsistent they are untrue; if a man's acts are inconsistent with his profession he is untrue—he lacks integrity. This is again closely connected with the idea of stability and permanence—existence even. If, e. g., ideas are not consistent, if they are not in exact agreement with one another, if they do not hang together, mental incoherency is the result; and if this incoherence of thought is indulged in too much it leads to mental breakdown and actual brain lesion, followed by incoherence of speech and action. The man is insane. Integrity of thought has disappeared; unity of idea or purpose is gone; man as man has disintegrated. Mental inconsistency is incipient mental incoherence, and incoherence is incipient destruction.

The gospel teaching is that Jesus Christ is truth in all its aspects. He is the real universe; He is God's ideas incarnate; He is the uttered Word, revealer of one person to another; He is God's ideas or image; finally, He is "Systematic-coherency"—the Great Organizer.

As the Real Universe Jesus Christ is the Word, or God's creative ideas, slowly realizing themselves in an evolving universe which reached its historical and constructive climax when God's very ideas were embodied in real substance, in the Person of Jesus. The sum total of all real things, lifeless and living, whether in the heavens or on the earth, including particu-

larly all men and every thought of every man, and, above all, the very Person of God in the man Jesus Christ, is Truth and is Jesus Christ. The real universe became, by the injection of the Person of God, itself a living organism—objective Truth made Personal.

But the process of evolution did not end with the incarnation of the Word in Jesus. The structure of the Universe was completed, but not finished. It was rough-hewn, but not polished. The keystone had been put in place, but much detail remained. With Jesus Christ incarnate the Created universe entered, not a fixed state, but a final phase, the evolution of an organic society—all men organized in Jesus Christ as organizing center, society nucleated in Him—the outward kingdom of God on earth. This is itself a real object, a sum total of human persons organized in Jesus Christ—a real human society become the organic clearing house, exchange, or brain of the universe. This Christian conception of Jesus Christ as objective Truth or the Universe is Pantheism plus Personality.

Again, as Inward Truth, Jesus is the Word or the organized sum total of God's ideas of the Universe, past, present, and to come—made flesh—clothed with real substance in a human nerve system. Whether as the historical Christ or the indwelling Christ, He is an organized sum total of ideas exactly corresponding, not only with what has been and is, but what is to be—Reality yet not reality as it is, but Reality as it is to be when brought into perfect agreement with the ideas of its Maker.

As uttered Truth, Jesus Christ is again the Real universe, including all lifeless and living things, but especially all men and all their recorded, embodied or incarnated ideas, and most especially all the acts and uttered words of Jesus Christ, who is Himself thus the Utterance of God and Absolute Truth. Christianity and agnosticism come to agreement at this point. By the nature of man God cannot be known except through knowable substance, therefore God expressed Himself and became the Word incarnate in the historical Jesus Christ.

Once again, as Truth dwelling in or built up in man, the indwelling Spirit of Truth, the "indwelling Christ," is the organized sum total of man's ideas of reality brought into exact agreement with the ideas of Christ, the inward image, therefore, of the real universe as it is focused in Jesus Christ. Above all, however, it is the image of the mind of Christ—His exact point of view, His purposes—so that a man's images, judgments and resolutions are in exact agreement with those of Jesus Christ, i. e., with the will of God.

Finally, Jesus Christ as "systematic coherence" is the great organizing factor of the universe. He is Head and Center: in Him all real objects,

whether in heaven or on earth, have their coherency. In Him the universe became organic—a living macrocosm. In Him, too, the inward universe became a living thing—a microcosm. This organization of all things in Him is especially true of human society, which is the climax of creation; all men are organized in Him as branches in a vine or bodily organs in the Head. In Him society becomes organic—the real Superman.

In every aspect and detail of truth, thus, it appears that Jesus Christ is Truth, and at every turn it becomes clear that Truth is not figurative, but real. He is plain every-day truth—true ideas, true words, true objects, true acts—and this has one corollary of utmost significance for a Christian league of nations. It appears that belief on the truth, love of truth and search for truth are belief on, love of and search for Jesus Christ. Whoever, therefore, in any nation, Jew or Mohammedan, Confucian or Buddhist, scientist or moralist, seeks truth with the whole heart finds Truth in the end—after death if not before. He is a Christian. This fact is plainly enough stated both by Jesus Christ and by His disciples—many who never knew Christ as Christ incarnate will, at the last day, find that they really did know and serve Him. Men of every nation who never knew of Jesus Christ will be saved by belief on the truth. This has never been a popular doctrine with orthodox Christianity, but it is taught with definiteness beyond dispute by Jesus Christ that “many” who never knew that they knew Him will enter into eternal life, and by St. Paul with equal definiteness, that all men have enough revelation of God “through things that are made” to lead them to do “by nature the things of the law”—if they will. Moreover, it follows, of course, that if the Creative Word or Providence is Jesus Christ, then Jehovah and Allah are Jesus Christ. There is no escape from the conclusion. The honest worshipper of the Unknown God or of Jehovah is just as truly a Christian as any Christian, even if not as fully a Christian—if God is One and Jesus Christ is God. A loyal and tolerant Jew or Mohammedan is e. g., a better Christian than an intolerant Christian: he is a Christian, only at a disadvantage in not knowing Jesus Christ as a source of power.

For these three things, then, Jesus Christ came into the world: peace, liberty and truth, and the three find their unity in the idea of a Kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth. This is a real state of perfect liberty and permanent peace, founded on truth, human society saved—utterly democratic, every man a sovereign, freely exercising his rights without any conflict with the rights of others, because all alike profess direct allegiance and utter loyalty to the Truth.

A Nation of Nations.

This kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth, although utterly democratic and utterly free, including men of all nations, and all giving direct and unquestioning allegiance to Jesus Christ as King, is, however, not a brotherhood of man in the anarchistic sense, but a highly organized state of states. Many Christians do, to be sure, think of a brotherhood of man in almost anarchistic terms. They openly profess an allegiance to Jesus Christ which ignores national lines and supersedes national laws—a supernationalism. They dwell on the fact that the Christian is in direct vital relationship with his Head. They subordinate what Jesus Christ said about national duty to their own private interpretation of what He said about non-resistance and the duty not to kill. They make the Kingdom of God, in short, not quite anarchy, but a sort of mob of Christians, with Christ as mob-leader, and this is a travesty on Christ's own teaching and practice in the matter of His Kingdom.

Nothing could possibly be farther from anarchism than Christianity. The God of the Christian is a God of order, not of confusion. Jesus Christ as Truth is, in the New Testament, the Incarnate Spirit of Organization. He is not only the organizing Head and Center of human society, uniting all men as the vine its branches, or as the brain co-ordinates the members of the body, but He is the Head and Center of the universe, in whom all things in heaven and on earth are organized, and from whom they get their coherency. Satan, on the other hand, is the Spirit of disorder, disorganization, disintegration. The figure for Christ's Kingdom is not the jelly fish, but the vine, or the highly differentiated human body having many members, every member having its special function and all firmly knit together.

Moreover, when Jesus Himself began to establish the social kingdom of liberty and peace on earth, He did not treat it, after the number of His followers grew large, as a town-meeting matter, but he chose twelve organizers and seventy collaborators, and these men and their successors have been the greatest world organizers ever since—not even the greatest modern economic or political organizations being quite comparable for unity, specialization and efficiency of results. Jesus Christ has proved to be the greatest of human organizers, and to represent His Kingdom in the terms of one-cell organisms is the extreme of misrepresentation, for one-cell organization is only a step short of anarchism—which is no-nucleus or degenerating organism. The outward kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth, whatever else it is, must therefore necessarily be a highly organized state.

This state, however, is not a super-state, blotting out national lines. Christianity is international to the last degree, but it is far from anti-national. Internationalism is, in some ways, the most obvious thing about Christianity: its mainspring is foreign missions, its avowed object to include all nations and races, peoples and languages, Jews and Gentiles, without discrimination. He rules over all. To Him every knee shall bow and every tongue confess. His followers are made up of every tribe and tongue and people. All nations shall serve Him. In that day of peace, when every man "speaks truth to his neighbor," when love of truth and peace results in permanent joy and gladness, "many peoples and strong nations shall come to Jehovah."

Up to this point, however, the matter does not necessarily involve a nation of nations. It may mean simply men out of all nations, or a melting pot of nations, erasing national lines. Several international religions—e. g., Mohammedanism, Judaism, and some forms of Christianity—look forward to a universal autocratic state, of the Roman empire type, where all states and persons are absorbed into one religious political organism through naturalization or subjection. This autocratic idea of a most favored nation or chosen people, assimilating all the rest, is, however, as far from the Christian trend as is the anarchistic mob idea of brotherhood. The Christian idea rests on the twin pillars of organization and individual self-sovereignty. Between anarchism, which is the negation of organization, and autocracy, which is the denial of individual self-sovereignty—between the mob and the despot, between disintegration and petrifaction—if the safe middle way, the Christian solution lies—a strong organization of wholly self-sovereign nations, made up of wholly self-sovereign individuals, a true organism, a living world-state, in which every individual has an active share and takes active pride, toward which he feels the same devotion as to his own country, his own state, his own town and his own family, and for the same reason—because it is his own.

Such a state, emphasizing on the one hand the self-sovereignty of every individual person and every individual nation, and on the other hand stressing universal organization, has but one logical issue—a kingdom of kingdoms, a state of states, a truly organic nation of nations, in which organization as a whole tends, not to erase lines, but to make more clear and definite the freedom of each individual sovereign member or organized group of members.

From a slightly different point of departure the Christian law as to life and more life leads to this same end. Translated into modern biological

terms, life is organization, and evolution is progressive organization. According to this natural law of evolution, all creation is passing from the anarchistic state of "an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity" to the organized condition of "definite coherent heterogeneity"—from the verge of disintegration to life, and from life to higher life. As men have grouped families in tribes and tribes in nations, so inexorably, in the end, unless the course of the universe is stopped, there must be one more stage, a group of nations, an organic union of states, a world organism. Biology has taught that life and organization are one, and the one has two aspects—growth and decay, decomposition and construction, degeneration and evolution. Every living thing has a trend towards one or the other extreme. There is no stopping point. There is a trend towards death and a trend towards life, and more life. The biologist predicts, with certitude, either a league of nations or anarchism, more order or chaos.

However this may be, and prophesy aside, the New Testament plainly calls for a nation of nations—possible in so many words and certainly in the fact that it insists equally on universality and on nationality. On the face of it, it would seem that prophets and apostles alike definitely looked on the future kingdom of Jesus Christ as a league of nations. They speak of Jesus, not merely as King, but as King of kings and Lord of lords—King of all the kings of the earth. Over and over again they refer to Him as ruler of the nations. He rules all nations, not merely men out of all nations. On the judgment day, even, the lines of nationality will not have been erased. It is true that in many contexts King of kings might be a simple superlative—the King incomparable—but in most cases the writer plainly visualizes the matter as a gathering of nations and tribes, with their rulers, and Jesus Christ as King. The apostles were, of course, not thinking in terms of international law, but they were obviously thinking of the ideal kingdom in terms of nations, tribes and tongues, rather than individuals.

But, whether prophets and apostles had in mind in these expressions a definitely organized body of individual tribes and nations or not, this follows with inevitable logic from the Christian teaching as to national duty and obedience to law, and here is where the crux lies. The internationalism of Christ's ideal has never been called in question; its nationalism has. Actually, however, no New Testament teaching is plainer or more positive, and it would be hard to find a form of expression anywhere more unqualified than the Christian teaching as to the supreme duty of patriotism. National loyalty is plainly taught in its twin aspects of obedience to existing authority and obedience to law. It is farther made unmistakable through the

general teaching as to the fundamental duty of absolute loyalty in all things—to one'sself, one's word, one's neighbor, one's country, and one's God. All existing rulers are ordained of God, the New Testament says, and are ministers of God: therefore they must be obeyed. The things that are Caesar's must be rendered to Caesar. "Put them in mind to be in subjection to rulers, to authorities." This is meant literally and is founded on natural law. The idea is that Providence (who is the Word, Jesus Christ) directs every item of this developing universe—and all the time—every sparrow, every hair of one's head, every thought and every daily task of every man. If this is true of every private citizen, so much the more is it true of every national administrator, whether born, appointed or elected to his task. If Providence is Providence, every ruler is a ruler by Divine appointment. Obedience to such rulers is obedience to God. The net consequence of this unqualified obedience to existing lawful authority is, of course, ultra-nationalism.

The same thing follows, and equally, of course, from the very definite Christian teaching as to obedience to law—"be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." This is the quintessence of human experience of what will work in human society—implicit obedience to every lawful law. This absolute obedience to law and lawful authority is loyalty or legality in its strict sense. Patriotism, which is love of country, finds in this loyalty, or absolute allegiance, its supreme exercise. As Jesus Christ made this loyalty the supreme test of love to Him—"If ye love me ye will keep my commandments"—so one's country says: "If ye love me ye will keep my laws." Supreme disloyalty is the attempt to evade spirit or letter of the Constitution or constitutionally-enacted laws. Laws are the voice of the nation, the record of itself, expressed by vote—they are the nation self-expressed, and to violate or evade them is disloyalty. To do so in the name of patriotism is supreme hypocrisy: it makes no difference whether the attempt is made by the chief executive, by Congress, or by a lynching party. Obedience to law is the evidence of patriotism; disobedience the evidence of disloyalty.

All this unqualified teaching as to obedience to law and lawful civil authority points to and sums up as unqualified nationalism, for laws are the state: they are the very things which distinguish one group of persons from another—not by division from the rest, but by stronger union with one another. They are the bonds of society—the records of its likemindedness. Nationality is adherence to a common body of laws; the intense spirit of law and order is, therefore, the soul of nationalism. The more

intense the spirit, the stronger the individualization of states. A religion teaching utter obedience to law and lawful authority is not supernational; it is hyper-national.

The practice of ultra-obedience to law and lawful authority tends to a separative nationalism; but, on the other hand, the kingdom of Jesus Christ is not an anarchistic bag of marbles, with no vital ties between the self-sovereign nations: it is a body of coöperating nations, working together for a common end—world peace, freedom, joy and truth—and working together for a common object is binding together.

The Method of Peaceful Revolution.

The method of Jesus Christ for reaching His goal is the method of peaceful revolution—changing men's minds by means of words. Christianity is the social revolution, Jesus Christ the arch revolutionist, but the supreme end of this revolution is peace, and only peaceful methods are permitted. The peaceful method of revolution is words.

Nothing is more distinctive of the religion of Jesus Christ than the line which it draws between verbal and physical warfare. Christianity is a warfare; it bears a sword; it divides households; it is waged passionately, but its sword is the word, and the word only. The sword of the Spirit is the word of truth. Words are spirit and all spiritual warfare is verbal warfare. In Christ's teaching this idea of the peaceful revolution is carried to its logical end in the idea of non-resistance. If the kingdom of God were physical, then Christ's followers would fight; being spiritual, committed to absolute belief in the power of reason, truth and true words, it is unworthy of a Christian to resist unreasoning force when it affects only his own liberty or rights. This applies even to verbal warfare when this is unnecessary or futile. Why go to law with one another if all that one wants is truth? Why answer a fool according to his folly? Why not simply keep silent as Jesus Christ did when he was railed upon or baited with futile questions? The man who has no doubt in his spirit as to the power of truth is above being provoked to retort, and still farther above being moved by any threat of human violence or any exercise of such violence. What has a man, convinced as to the irresistible power of truth in the end, to do with obvious unreason but let it take its course?

And what is true of non-resistance to unreasonable and unlawful coercion is of course doubly true of lawful force, even if unreasonable. Christ's teaching requires implicit obedience to law and to lawful authority, even if

unjust and unreasonable. Here is where non-resistant pacifists make their mistake—they prefer resisting the law, which is to say their fellow-citizens and neighbors, rather than their enemies, forgetting that Jesus Christ puts non-resistance to law even above non-resistance to lawlessness. As a matter of fact, neither Christ himself nor his apostles counted lawful military service contrary to religion. It was a soldier whom Jesus Christ declared to be the most religious man that he had yet met, and the experience of St. Peter with devout soldiers was similar. When St. John the Baptist was asked by a soldier what he ought to do, he did not say "quit," but "be content with your wages." This precept of non-resistance was practiced by the early Christians to the utmost—and in both its aspects. They were persecuted to the last degree; the censorship was set upon them with the extremest rigor, their books were burned, their right of assembly denied, and they did not resist physically, nor, on the other hand, did they in general resist lawful military service—and yet the Galilean has conquered.

Christian non-resistance is at bottom a protest against force. It is founded on the fact of the irresistible power of truth. If truth is, as has been said, the keyword to Christ's teaching, then power is the keyword to truth in His teaching. In a nutshell, the very essence of Christ's teaching is that truth and power, "grace and truth," are inseparable, and words the conveying agent of both. It is the word of truth which moves the world: Jesus Christ is the word and the truth; the Holy Spirit, which gives power, is the Spirit of Truth and words His weapons; the words which Christ speaks are spirit. The essence of the gospel of Jesus Christ is the power of the word of truth to change men's minds. There is nothing esoteric about the matter. It refers simply to the obvious fact of human psychology and social experience. All changes of character and all social changes are effected by means of words producing change of mind in the individual. In Christ's teachings this fact of human nature lies at the base of all. Regeneration, sanctification, edification are all by the Spirit of Truth and by means of the word. The Spirit of Truth is the spirit of power.

The idea is most plainly taught by Jesus in the figures of the bread of life and the water of life, or "living water." Both bread of life and water of life are words. These, too, are the means of grace or power or life. "It is written that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." The plainest expression of all is the Lord's supper. In this Christ's body, broken for us, is the body of the Word; His flesh is the bread of life because He is the word and the truth. This is one of the most direct, most explicit and the most far-reaching in its

explanations of all Christ's teachings. After having dwelt on the "bread of God which cometh down out of heaven and giveth life unto the world," and declared "I am the bread of life...I am the living bread which came down out of heaven," He iterated and reiterated the parable until His disciples were thoroughly perplexed. The bread, He says, is His flesh—"Except ye eat the flesh of the son of man, ye have not life." He that eateth "abideth in me and I in him." "As I live because of the father, so he that eateth me, he also shall live because of me." When His disciples found this too "hard" for them, He explained that His flesh and the bread of heaven are words, "The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life." So, too, the contents of the Holy Grail, "His blood," are power, grace or life, but all these are, in their essence, truth. This is the well of water springing up unto everlasting life, which cleanses from all sin, which washes whiter than snow—the river of life. With this cue, that words are spirit and the source of power and life, the whole circle of Christian ideas in all their various metaphors becomes easy of translation; Christ's words are the seed of the kingdom which spring up and bear fruit a hundred fold—they are the leaven of the kingdom.

The teaching that words have power and convey power was nothing new. Literally every great mythology contains this idea that truth and words are the secret of power and the elixir of life. The life-giving Soma and Haoma, Nektar and Ambrosia, the Mead of the gods which revives their immortal being and gives supernatural strength, the fountains that water the tree of life and the apples which it produces are all knowledge, truth or words. The Egyptians formulated the idea of the word of power three thousand years before the Christian era, and primitive peoples everywhere exaggerated the notion in their mechanical ideas of magic words. In short, it is universal human observation that words and truth are the springs of human power—even false and evil words have power for harm, but the Christian idea is that they have no power in the long run against words of truth, which are irresistible.

The fact of the irresistible power of truth and the fact that words are the motive power of social changes have been proved true universally in human experience in the quest for liberty: they work. Human nature is such as to make the peaceful revolution by words irresistible. Free speech everywhere spells human freedom; suppression of free speech, or taking away the keys of knowledge, spells supreme oppression. Wherever there is freedom of thought, speech and assembly, there inevitably freedom of person or action sooner or later prevails; free words lead, by the nature of human nature, to

free actions. Men have found it true that it works. Unjust, unselfish and unreasonable men are the great witnesses to this fact. They are the first to realize that the only chance for unreason and injustice is to take away the keys of knowledge. Arbitrary censorship is the supreme exercise of autocracy because directed on the most vital element of liberty—the free word.

The simple fact is that words do have power to cause internal and external changes, and they do operate in this way in the real world today. This fact has never been shown with more vividness or realized so definitely as in the use of propaganda and counter-propaganda during the recent war. Unparalleled as this war was in the forces of men employed, deadliness of destructive methods, unscrupulousness in their use, and the bitterness of hatred engendered, it was even more unparalleled in its verbal aspects, in the quantity and unscrupulous use of words to produce false impressions on the enemy and false impressions on friends in order to induce particular action, and in the quantity and vigor of counter effort to establish alleged truth. It was by all odds the greatest word war in history, and the lesson of propaganda was the power of words, true and false, to change men's minds and thereby alter the course of social events for weal or for woe.

This simple fact of experience, that words do have power to effect changes in human social history, although it covers the subject, does not exhaust it—it is the mere surface of a bottomless pool of power. To overlook the fact that the power, grace or life is imparted by the Spirit of Truth through words, and is real, would be to miss the point of Christianity. This power is real; it is a real increment of personal human energy, enabling a man to do what he could not otherwise have done; and, above all, it is increment of a man's ability to express himself so as to carry conviction and change minds. Be not anxious what ye shall say, for the Holy Spirit shall teach you in that very hour. Words not only change minds, but they thereby charge them with energy, as if by some chemical charging process—the man, continually absorbing power from the Spirit of Truth by means of words, grows continually in effective personality.

This power is thus not a figure of speech, nor anything esoteric, or even mystical, in the strict sense. It is spiritual and therefore mystical in the loose sense, but it is real. It is actual power instilled somehow into the human spirit by the Spirit of Truth, making it able to do things which it could not otherwise do, and which other people, not having it, cannot do, and this power of God or power of the Holy Spirit is truth. It is the irresistible power of truth—plain, every-day truth—in its various aspects, communicated to the human personality by plain every-day words and operated

in turn by the person receiving by means of plain, every-day true words. It is simple mental energy or brain power. Power and truth are inseparably linked, and both grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is the power because he is the truth, and the Holy Spirit, who is words, and works by words, is the instrument of this power because He is the Spirit of Truth. The Christian theory assumes that there is no limit to this power. It is the one thing for which men may pray without fear and without stint. It is not only the very best gift which can be given, but one which the Father, who is more ready to give good gifts than human parents, is most glad to give without limit.

In Christ's method, thus, words and truth are the twin instruments of irresistible revolution; truth lies at the bottom of the matter. Words have power, but evil words are not irresistible; it is only the word of truth which has final power. This it is which is the sword of the Spirit of Truth; it is truth which is irresistible, and the reason why it is irresistible is simply because it is the reality. There is no use fighting against fact, for fact is the way things actually go on in the universe. Whether faced as the "irresistible will of God" or as "inexorable laws of nature" or as "the real universe," it comes out at the same point; it is of no use to kick against the goad, to fight the stars in their courses, to defy the thunderbolt. Liberty does not lie that way; that man is free who faces the naked truth unafraid and unashamed, who therefore comes to know the truth and shapes his course so that his energy is not wasted in vain struggles against irresistible environment, but is guided into channels of maximum progress with minimum resistance. This is one aspect of the fact of nature that "truth is mighty and must prevail."

The Christian idea is that a man who thus conforms his ideas, or lets them be conformed, utterly to reality thereby puts himself in coöperation with the ideas or will of God. It is like pushing into a strong-flowing stream and swimming with the current. He is coöperating with invincible power. In such coöperation there is nothing at all that he cannot do—move mountains, pluck up trees by the roots and cast them into the sea, or, more difficult than either, change a human mind by means of words. He can transform a man's soul from distress and inability to liberty and peace; he can transform human society into a state of permanent peace and freedom by coöoperating with Jesus Christ; he has irresistible power behind him; there is no chance of failure.

Truth is, therefore, the sufficient power, and words are the sufficient instruments for creating the state of peace and freedom on earth, which is the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

II.

The Essentials of a Christian League of Nations.

The essential principles of international coöperation are the same for a Christian league as for any other league, but the Christian point of view gives to these principles a unique value. The foundation of this point of view is Jesus Christ as the actual source of irresistible power—in particular, the relation of Jesus Christ to truth, prayer and the future life.

The essentials for any league are, as has been already suggested, the spirit of coöperation, agreement, loyalty and equity or equality. The same essentials in the language of the preamble to the proposed league covenants and of the treaty are coöperation, justice, law as the actual rule of conduct, and the sanctity of treaties and all formal undertakings. In the Christian scheme these essentials are commonly and still better stated as love, faith and righteousness.

These three groups of criteria are readily translated into one another. Love is agreement plus coöperation; faith is loyalty, keeping faith or fidelity, and loyalty is literally the strict observance of law as the actual rule of conduct. Righteousness is justice plus mercy, or equity, the golden rule in action, and justice is the blind goddess with equal balances before whom all men are on equality and all men's deeds weighed in the scales with absolute truth, and all men's rights to be equally observed.

The various terms have various shades of meaning, but each set includes the few things needful to secure permanent liberty and peace, inward, national or international, if put into operation. Here is the rub. There is no more sign now of active agreement, coöperation, legality or equal justice than there was of the fourteen articles, self-determination, democracy and disarmament at the Peace Conference. There is perfect agreement as to what ought to be done and total inability to do; where we would do good evil is present with us.

Enabling Power.

Here Christianity comes in. It offers enabling power. This power comes from Jesus Christ; it is not esoteric, but real, and it is unlimited. It has a double aspect; Providence and grace. Providence is Omnipotence, continuously acting in superintendence of the natural evolution of the universe,

and grace is real personal energy or power communicated to a man by the Holy Spirit, enabling him to do things which he could not otherwise do.

The power is one; it is simply power—superhuman, divine, spiritual, to be sure, but none the less real—actual power to cause or resist changes, within and without. As grace this is superhuman power brought to bear on a man's mind to change it and make its ideas true. But it is not this only. It is that power stored up in a man's person—literal, personal, human energy—by means of which a man becomes himself better able to cause or resist changes. It makes a man able, first, to control his own thoughts and purposes, then to bring these to bear on some objective purpose. In essence it is simple ability to do—sheer potential energy. It is that portion of universal power which is in a man; his stock of energy. The Christian idea is that a man who puts himself in touch with the source of power goes on, himself, increasing indefinitely in this power to do things, and that the highest exercise of this power is in laying hold on and using the power of Providence. Providence is the sum total of that world energy of which grace is man's portion—the tankard of the giant Suttung, whose scattered drops are the vital energy of man. All world changes are wrought by Providence, and all his power is at man's disposal.

Prayer.

Prayer is the method by which a man gets personal power and uses Providence. It is at this point of prayer that the teaching of Jesus Christ reaches a climax. All teaching indeed, as to the relationship of nature and human nature, must reach its climax here, for prayer is the touching point of man and the universe, the go-between of God and man—the climax, therefore, of all human operations. Indeed, it is more than all this, for it is not merely the supreme privilege, opportunity, power and field of activity, but its exercise is the supreme activity of the personality itself, the supreme living of human life. Life is action and reaction between an individual and his environment. Personality or human conscious life—that is, mental or spiritual life—is reaction to and action on its environment, getting impressions from and making impressions on outward reality, receiving changes from and making changes in the surrounding universe. Both of these activities may be described as realizing—realizing facts or objects inwardly, and realizing ideas or purposes outwardly. The realizing of facts involves changes in one's ideas of those facts; the realizing of an idea involves changes in outward substance. Both involve changes in the real universe,

and are, therefore, creative. On the last analysis the goal of all human thinking or acting is just this—to effect such changes in the real universe, which includes not only material nature, but especially men's minds and a man's own mind. This is the chief end of man—to effect such changes in the universe.

Prayer is the supreme effort of man to effect such changes. Through it he gets the aid of Omnipotence. This supreme function is too often exercised on relatively trivial matters, but it is calculated rather for use on a very large scale—the welfare of the nation, the correction of social injustice, the prosperity of missionary effort, the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth, world organization, a perfected universe. Whether the object is great or small, the effect of prayer is to change the natural order, to have something take place which otherwise would not have taken place or would have happened in a different way. The man who prays has thought up some way in which, in his judgment, the probable course of the universe could be altered to advantage, and he asks the help of Providence in making the change. The Christian idea is that Providence directs everything. Nothing is too little or too big for His attention. His mind, too, is always open and ready to be influenced by the verbal representations of man as to what changes shall be caused or prevented among real things. He encourages man to use to the utmost whatever genius he may have for directing the course of social or cosmic events by thinking up improvements on nature and society, and asking Omnipotence to put His power back of these ideas for their realization. The more a man tries to shape the future course of the universe in this way, through prayer, the more pleasing, it is alleged, it is to Providence, and the more freely Omnipotence is at man's disposal.

The chief end of man's activity or conscious life is, in short, to realize his ideas, and this involves effecting changes in the universe. His immediate instrument for this end is his own personal or mental energy. The persistent exercise of mental energy will do miracles, especially the coöperative mental energy of many persons, cumulating effects. This removes mountains—applied through a steam shovel; it digs canals, it cures otherwise fatal diseases; it makes ten grains of wheat grow where one grew before, and manufactures ten screws where one was made before. All this, however, that a man can do with his native mental power is bagatelle to what he can do by prayer. By enlisting Omnipotence he may multiply his own brain power for devising a hundred fold, and multiply speed and efficiency in carrying out the ideas, without limit. If, in fact, prayer is real, then the supreme exercise of a man's mental power is in presenting these plans to

Omnipotence for aid in carrying out his improvements. If prayer is real there is no other possible way which can be imagined in which a man can exercise his mental powers to so great an advantage, nothing so worth his time and energy as the relentless, unceasing, passionate effort to enlist the aid of Providence in carrying out his plans for cosmic improvement. If prayer is real, and whatsoever a man asks for he gets, how can a man possibly do anything in life so effective as asking? And among askings, what imaginable thing is there above the prayer for wisdom to ask the best things. Asking to know the very best thing to ask Omnipotence for is itself the climax of human effort, the highest exercise of human personality.

The teaching of Jesus as to this supreme matter of prayer and the supreme object of prayer is summed up and reaches a climax of climaxes in answer to the request "Lord, teach us to pray." The answer to this question consists of the Lord's Prayer and a few verses of comment. Within this brief compass Jesus sets forth the reality of prayer, what to pray for, and how to pray? Everyone who asks gets; ask importunately; ask for the kingdom of God within and without, for daily bread, and, above all, for the Spirit of Truth.

Prayer, he says, is in fact real. It is the simple truth that he who asks gets. There is no limit or qualification to this law, and no limit to getting, therefore, save asking. Asking, however, implies two factors: verbal formulation and importunity.

It has seemed strange to many that, granted all power and all wisdom on the part of Providence, any asking should be necessary, and more especially that a verbal formulation of wish should be called for. As a matter of fact, asking is not always necessary for getting. Man is all the time getting things from Providence—all that he has, in fact, comes from this source, and there are very few things that he takes the trouble to ask for. Indeed, Jesus Christ Himself expressly discouraged indulgence in too much anxiety about ordinary routine needs. He says that Providence knows all about these needs and will take care of them. The point is that the man who does not pray simply gets the things which are coming to him in the ordinary course of nature under all its conditions of natural law—struggle and survival, hereditary and environment, competition and injustice. The man who prays exercises his own free will and the right to judge what shall be coming to him and how his natural conditions of environment shall be altered.

The farther point is that these wishes, or wants, or operations of the will, looking towards an alteration of the face of nature or the course of events—

in short, all the operations of a man's free creative personality—cannot be granted by Providence without verbal formulation simply because they do not exist until they are verbally formed. The first step in realizing the purpose is its verbal formulation. The human personality is made this way. Personality is verbal just as matter is molecular, and verbal petition is as much a method of nature as crystallization. A man may ask superhuman aid in perfecting his own conception of what he wants and in perfecting its verbal statement, but Providence does not grant the object itself without verbal asking, simply because verbal asking is the creative drawing of an intended reality which has no existence whatever until it is created by the verbal sketch. Providence can take hold of and carry out when it has been creatively sketched in words, but not when it has no existence.

In short, verbal petition is no accidental or arbitrary provision; it is a necessary condition, a prerequisite. There is a wide difference between needs and wants or wishes. Needs exist in themselves, and Providence can take cognizance of them. He supplies these at His discretion. Wants or wishes do not exist until they arise in the mind of a free-thinking man. This rising is necessarily verbal, in the broad technical sense, and as men are now constituted it rarely becomes definite except through the verbal forms of oral or written speech; generally, but not always, articulate sound words or the written signs for such words.

Asking, moreover, according to Christ's teaching, involves importunity. This as an element of prayer strikes many as even more strange than verbal asking, and here again our Lord seems, while urging it at one time, almost to discourage it at another—e. g., in His teaching as to the folly of vain repetitions. In fact, there is all the difference between vain repetitions and importunity that there is between red tape and decisive and persistent action—between the parrot and the logician—and it is something of this sort which is the psychological foundation for this teaching. At all events, the teaching is plain enough.

Asking is no mere casual mention to Omnipotence of something that Providence might do. Asking that does not continue steadily until answer comes is not asking. Prayer is not intermittent, but persistent. It is "importunity," such as may get justice even from an unjust judge, or a loaf of bread from a reluctant and sleepy friend. Elsewhere this is called faith; it is the steadfast, unrelaxing purpose or wish, as distinguished from the fitful whim or casual, unreflecting wish. No wish is worth realizing that has not been fought out into a steadfast purpose definite enough to be kept constantly in mind for execution. He who asks gets, but he who stops asking

stops the process of getting too. Asking is not an order to a servant, given once for all. It is the expression of a continuing wish, and such a wish is kept alive through repeated and varied verbal expression.

Given asking, however, verbal framing and the unwavering wish, and there is no limit to the law that every right-minded person who asks gets. And here indeed is just where the trouble lies with prayer. What a man asks for he does get. There is no danger, if Jesus Christ's teaching is truth, of not getting what one asks for. The trouble is the other way. Man is no more all wise than he is all powerful; what he asks for may not be wise. In praying, therefore, one needs, above all things, to be wholly sure that he is right before he goes ahead. Prayer is playing with thunderbolts: "Who knows what is good for us?" The Lord may grant the desire of a man's heart and send leanness into his soul. If one is in trouble he may pray himself out of the frying pan into the fire—who knows? It is a very brave or a very foolish man, therefore, who dares pray for anything without qualification. Mythology is full of tales of men who have tried this out with three unqualified wishes and made a failure of all of them. This is profound psychology. It is one thing to think of something which might improve the universe for oneself or someone else, and quite another to face the consequences of actual realization. There is nothing in the world which so compels a showdown of man with himself as this. When a man summons Omnipotence to do a thing, and so knows that it will, beyond peradventure, be done, he strips himself of every pose and gets down to the naked reality. It comes to pass, therefore, that the danger for an utterly sincere man is that he will stop praying, not because he does not expect to get what he asks for, but because he does.

This situation leads, first, to the prayer to be kept from evil or "overruled," then to the prayer for wisdom to ask aright. In this matter Jesus suggests, first, that to those who truly pray God will not give evil gifts; He will not give a stone for bread. A man may, therefore, pray insistently without fear.

He says, farther—and here a climax is reached—that God is ready to give good gifts without limit, and, above all, to give in unstinted measure the best gifts. The very best gift, the *ne plus ultra* of human goods, is the Spirit of Truth, whose mission is to guide into all truth, to teach you all things, to bring all things to remembrance, whose first function is, therefore (prayer being what it is), to so guide prayer as to avoid asking evil and to ask the very best. "What man is there that feareth the Lord, him shall he instruct." The very greatest human good is the knowledge of truth or

reality, or the will of God, and this is embodied in His own teaching while on earth, and it is the mission of the Spirit of Truth, who took up this teaching where Jesus left it off, especially to take His words and interpret them to the human soul, thus furnishing it with absolute truth or knowledge of the will of God as embodied in creation and in His creative purposes. The end and climax of these purposes being, so far as man is concerned, the reign of truth—that is, of reason, righteousness, peace and freedom on earth, the supreme object of prayer is to know the truth as to His purposes in this matter.

In short, a climax of prayer is reached in the prayer for truth, and the climax to this prayer in the petition for the reign of truth among men.

The Spirit of Truth being also the Spirit of Power, while grace and truth are in fact inseparable, the supreme good gift of truth proves also to be the gift of personal power. This personal power is at the same time the means of right asking for the exercise of the power of Providence "at a distance" and the source of increased personal power of asking, which is itself the highest exercise of human power. It is a triple climax, therefore, the apex being prayer for the kingdom of Christ on earth, the reign of peace and freedom—Thy kingdom come on earth.

Collective Prayer.

Not the least significant thing about the Lord's Prayer is the fact that it is a collective prayer: "Our Father...forgive us"—not "my" or "me."

This matter of coöperative prayer is one of the New Testament teachings often looked on as mysterious or mystical. Why should the agreement of two in a prayer have special value? This is, in fact, simple natural law. "If two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them," "Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I," "Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together," are teachings which stand for the fundamental law of nature as to coöperation. The first step in all coöperation for any object is agreement or like-mindedness as to the common object. Collective prayer is, first, thinking together and talking together about some object to be attained or achieved, and then petitioning Providence for this. Coöperative thinking lies at the bottom of the matter. The natural principle which underlies this is that principle of natural coöperation by which two working together somehow produce more than twice what either of them working separately can produce, and the most fruitful exercise of this principle is in coöperative think-

ing. At all events, it is a fact of Christ's teaching that the same law which applies to coöperation in general on earth applies to prayer, and somehow many persons praying unitedly for some object are more effective than the sum total of individuals praying independently for the same object. Coöperative prayer is, therefore, an important, perhaps supreme, element in the effort to bring about the reign of Jesus Christ on earth.

Future Life.

This fact that the teaching of Jesus Christ is focused, not on the heavenly kingdom of God, but on the earthly kingdom—the reign of social justice, truth and righteousness, the earthly state of peace and liberty, within and without, is, once attention has been called to it, perhaps the most striking and illuminating fact about the whole matter of the Christian religion. This fact, however, does not in the least contradict the fact that this teaching is shot through and through with references to heaven and the future life. These matters are taken for granted. They are simply a part of reality or truth: existing circumstances of the universe which form the atmosphere in which man conducts his operations. It is equally a part of that world of reality, however, that man's efforts are bent, i. e., his active exertions, occupations and preoccupations are centered, not on gaining this life, but on bringing to pass the reign of righteousness on earth, first in his own mental operations and acts, then in social operations and movements, culminating in a united humanity.

The Lord's Prayer is an epitome of all this, as of all Christ's teachings. There is here no petition that we may have a life after death or "go to heaven." There are two mentions of heaven, but both of these are incidental—"Our Father who art in heaven," "on earth as it is in heaven." The prayer, in short, assumes heaven in the environment, but is focused wholly on man's effort to bring about the kingdom of heaven within and the kingdom of heaven in society. By these activities man does, to be sure, work out his salvation and gain eternal life. What is more than that, he gains it now and here on earth, but eternal life and future existence are different matters. That future existence may be a state of peace and liberty, where truth, righteousness or the will of God is the actual rule of conduct, and so peace and liberty reign, or it may be a state of unrest and disorganization, or anarchy. Eternal life, on the contrary, is the state of peace, liberty and harmony, which by its nature goes on undisturbed, integrated, without interruption ever, because it is free and at peace with

itself and its environment. The kingdom of heaven, which is within, is this state and is by nature unending. For the individual thus the question is settled here and now; as he reacts to the kingdom of heaven on earth, so will he continue to act forever, wherever he may be. The future judgment makes no change, it simply recognizes a fact or an existing situation: whether of peace or distress.

tion: whether of peace or distress.

Heaven in the New Testament teaching is a place, a state and a State. As a place, it is everywhere except the earth—"heaven and earth;" that is to say, everywhere where there are persons. As a state, it is the condition of inward peace and liberty, whether individual or social, whether on earth or in heaven. As a State, it is the organized body of all those who profess "Thy will be done," i. e., those to whom the will of God or truth is the actual rule of conduct, whether in the earth or out of the earth, and it is contrasted with the state of unrest and disorganization or anarchy where His will is not done, whether this be on earth or elsewhere. Whether there are on earth or out of the earth geographical divisions, where the all-good and all-bad are segregated is still another question. On earth, and at present at least, heaven and hell are mixed together, both in the individual person and in society; wheat and tares remain together till, at some time in the indefinite future, they are sorted and segregated. The Christian point of view, therefore, simply takes the matter of a future life and the sorting out, some time, of the law-abiding from the lawless as one of the commonplaces of reality. It is simply something which is going to happen. Meantime this life is going on. It is a man's business to work with all his might, to root lawlessness out of his own self and establish truth or utter obedience to the will of God as expressed in the teachings of Jesus Christ in its place, and thereby make himself more powerful in the work which has been set by these teachings as the supreme and only normal goal of human effort, i. e., social righteousness and justice, the reign of truth and so of peace and liberty and joy on earth. Sometimes, in a future life, there will be an accounting. If a man has done well his work will be appreciated and he will have the reward which comes to all those who do faithful work for love of a person. That reward is the certainty that the work has given pleasure to that person and seems "well done." He will inevitably, in the long eternity, which in the course of nature, in fact, lies ahead, be sure of having bigger and harder jobs given him under conditions where all the interruptions and hardships and handicap of lawlessness are removed, and he is free to exercise all his creative powers to the utmost, and incidentally

will reap all the joys of the continual accomplishment of such creative purposes, the climax and perhaps the substance of all joy—seeing ideas realized.

Removal of Fear.

This Christian point of view—simple, matter-of-fact and all-comprehensive—leads to two things of utmost efficiency for securing the practical putting into operation of the essential principles for international coöperation and bringing about an actual Christian League of Nations—first, the utter removal of the fear of death; second, the sense of responsibility for action.

There follows from the teaching as to the power of truth and the ability of every man bent on truth to appropriate the power of Omnipotence, a very important corollary in the total absence of fear of any other power, whether it is called the devil or death. A logical Christian has no room for fear. In the first place, he is absolutely confident of the power of truth to win out in the long run if it is operated faithfully and persistently by sincere words—the irresistible power of truth and the sufficient agency of the word. If in the meantime falsehood and autocracy kill the body, what does it matter? They have no power on the soul; they cannot even touch the kingdom of God within; its liberty, its peace, or its joy; still less can they stem the eternal tide of power which is making for righteousness and will crystallize finally as an organized coöperating world. This indifference has its natural ground in the Christian view of the continuous life. Death doesn't end anything. Life not only goes on, but it is a better life. It is “very far better to depart and be with Christ” than to live on here. It is necessary for a man to work here as long as he is needed, and if he goes at it in the right spirit he will live at the top notch of keen enjoyment in his work, in peace and freedom, tingling with the joy of supreme effort for supreme good; but even this topmost mark of human enjoyment will, he supposes, be increased as soon as his work in the fields is finished and he goes home. This utter preference for either life or death, according to the preference of Jesus Christ, has great subjective value for effective action, but its power lies, not in its psychology, but in the fact that “better” is a fact.

This conviction that the future life is better has, even as a natural matter, a great effect on practical activity; the Christian mind offers an utter contrast to that of the man to whom death ends all. In the minds of fanatics this leads to strange excesses—the Malay runs amuck because he

secures definite heavenly reward. But even in the sanest practice it, on the one hand, produces the courage of the martyr and the crusader, while on the other hand it removes the fear of killing another if this is done in the course of duty.

Responsibility.

Again of responsibility: to the Christian this is the beginning and end of the matter: he is responsible. It is his duty to do his duty, that is all there is to it. He is accountable for using his utmost effort, including prayer, and especially prayer for the Spirit of truth and wisdom to judge duty as each time of action comes along. There will be a great accounting, and his accounting will be for having acted according to best conscience as to duty. All else can be overruled. If, e. g., a man is obliged from national loyalty to kill men of another nation, and even if the men whom he must kill seem to him not well prepared for eternity, his duty is only to do his duty. Omnipotence cares for the rest. He himself is responsible only for duty done; the Judge of all the earth for all the rest. If he himself were responsible for the final judgment, the matter would be overwhelming; but the fact of a judgment in the future, and by a just judge, is complete relief. The expectation of a final judgment is at the same time an overwhelming relief from present responsibility, and a stimulus to certainty that whatever misjudgment there has been, in the end, whatever faithful work has been done, however slight and insignificant, will be appreciated by the person for whom it was done.

This double fact of immediate transfer to paradise and sooner or later receiving an expression of appreciation of good work done is an overwhelming incentive to the utmost possible exertion, wholly unaccompanied by fear. All such action to the logical Christian is in a sense accompanied by a profound fear, but this is the fear of being wrong or doing wrong, and for relief from this fear he rests on the doctrine of the prayer for truth. The fear of death, however, has no place in his philosophy, and the absence of this fear with the present sense of responsibility and simple belief in the power of prayer makes a perfect human machine for bringing about any concrete social result for which Providence may choose to use it. This it is which underlies the essential principles on which a Christian League of Nations must be based; this belief as to power, truth, prayer, the future life, and accountability.

Christian Love.

Turning from the foundation to the principles themselves, these are, in Christian terms, love, faith, righteousness.

Christian charity or love is likemindedness plus coöperation; it is agreement and fellow-working, both in the truth. Truth is the essential word, for men may love evil, love a lie, or love darkness rather than light. Truth being understood, all love, human or divine, may be analyzed into these two factors, likemindedness and coöperation. Jesus Christ summed up Christian duty as love to God, love to neighbor and love to self. St. Paul made love the climax of human character. The poets of all ages have celebrated love as the summit of human experience—the greatest thing in the world. All these loves, human or divine, are at bottom the simple will or passion to be likeminded plus the will to work together.

The nature of love as likemindedness appears from the common speech use of the words like, kind, dislike, unkindness. Love is the superlative of liking and kindness; like, like very much, like very much indeed. Hatred is the superlative of dislike and unkindness. Kindness is kind-ness, or the consciousness of kind, and superlative kindness is love. It is related to kin and kinship and mankind.

Love is thus the will to like and to be like, to become like another, to make another like us, to be kind to another and avoid unkindness or dislike. The supreme object and end of love is utter likemindedness, a complete and exact image of each in both—utter likeness. The process is, on the one hand, becoming like or imitating; on the other hand, making another “like” one’s self. God first made man in his own image and likeness. Man lost his image and began to dislike God. By the same token, he disliked his fellow-men who still liked God. The knowledge of Jesus Christ and the persistent effort to like or be like him restores the image of God or the state of exact likemindedness with God. Christianity is the love of Jesus Christ: by the same token it is the imitation of Jesus Christ. Christians are conformed to His image, are likeminded with him and so likeminded with one another.

Likemindedness means that the ideas of one person exactly correspond with those of another, whether they are ideas of fact or ideas of purpose. And likemindedness, more especially likemindedness in purpose, is the binding tie of mankind; it is the basis of all human groups, whether families, voluntary associations, or the state—whether of two or two billion persons. This is the well recognized law of social science: likemindedness and consciousness of kind are the organizing factors of society. Society is men become mankind.

Again, love is coöperation or working together for a common end. Likemindedness as to the object is the necessary preliminary, but working together to produce that object is the great secret of human unity. Coöperation is the evidence and exercise of likemindedness. The love of Jesus Christ is, as He says, fellow-working with Him, doing His commandments, feeding His sheep, and, above all, coöperating with Him to bring about His kingdom of freedom and peace on earth. "This is love, that we should walk after his commandments," "If ye love me ye will keep my commandments." This is coöperation with Jesus Christ; taking His orders, keeping at the work on which His mind was set, in the way that He directed that it should be done. The Christian idea is that all Christians are co-workers with Jesus Christ in establishing His kingdom of freedom, peace, righteousness and joy.

The point of coöperation is, in brief, the curious natural law by which two persons working together can produce more than both working separately. The more thoroughly coöperation can be secured, the greater therefore will be the total output of world goods. On the other hand, all hesitation to coöperate or neglect reduces the total of world's goods, and the average amount, therefore, which each may enjoy. It has been said that universal coöperation could, in the economic field, in a single year, and every year, produce more of the goods desired by man than were destroyed during the war. All that is necessary in order to give every man all such goods as he needs, economic and intellectual, and leisure enough to enjoy them, is to establish permanent coöperation in the unqualified Christian sense. Typical coöperation is not two men working together to do together something which neither can do separately, e. g., lift a weight, although coöperation includes this; it is rather each doing separately that for which each has the greatest aptitude and each sharing with the other the product of that individual labor: it spells give and take, reciprocity.

These twin elements of likemindedness and coöperation find a typical meeting place in coöoperative thinking, which is the coöoperative effort to produce likemindedness. This is the climax of social effort; the effort is coöoperative thinking, the end is likemindedness, and together they are love.

Coöoperative thinking is the first and highest form of human coöperation, and it operates in the field of personality, where giving does not impoverish while receiving enriches. It is in this field of ideas, knowledge, experience and observation where the greatest human wealth resides; that is to say, the greatest goods measured in terms of their ability to produce intense, lasting and constructive joy. The business of coöoperative thinking is typi-

cally conducted by conversation—the give and take of ideas by means of words. Two individuals working each by himself develop each a favorable variation of some idea; then, at the dinner table, or the club, or the seminar, one communicates his variation to the other, the other to the one; each has then a richer idea, which gives increased joy to each.

This interchange of ideas is the foundation of what is called social life. Of this, what is known as fashionable society is the most highly organized type, or perhaps travesty of type. Whether type or travesty, this stands for the very essence of collective human life, for society in this sense is, at bottom, simply the searching for reasonable occasions to get together and share one's ideas. The foundation and commonest form of society in this sense is the social meal together. The feast has been, from the beginning of time, the great occasion for the interchange of ideas, and it results in enlarged personal values and in likemindedness. The social family meal, the business lunch, the society tea, the diplomatic dinner, the heathen sacrificial feast and the Christian Lord's Supper alike reflect that law of human nature which seeks occasions to share the results of personal experience and thinking with one another, because this enriches the personality more than solitary accumulation, and produces that likemindedness which is the necessary ground of organized social life. It is for this reason that a ruling class is apt to develop out of the informal social life of any community. Those people who do get together and share their ideas not only become able to act together through resulting likemindedness, but they become able to act independently better because they have shared one another's ideas and become themselves greater for it. There is a very definite sense in which a cultivated society in which the most cultivated take the most frequent occasion of being together and sharing ideas becomes the ruling class in the community, while those who neglect such opportunities necessarily stand aside and let the others lead. It is the same principle which underlies the Christian idea of people assembling together to share thought and experience in public worship. This does not differ from the ancient sacrifice, except that the meal taken in connection with the sacrifice is represented now by a mere symbol, and the real food which comes down from heaven and by which man lives—that is, every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God—becomes the recognized purpose of meeting. Coöperative thinking is thus the highest exercise of coöperation, while coöperative prayer is the highest exercise of coöperative thinking.

Christian charity recognizes that all coöperation involves both give and take. It is a poor kind of love to be satisfied with taking only, and an

almost equally poor variety which insists on giving only. True coöperation or true love at its best counts it the greater privilege to give, and by the same token does not insist on giving only, but is willing to receive whatever another wishes to or can give without impoverishment. In true love or true coöperation, therefore, the wealthier person shares freely with the poorer whatever he has to share, and thankfully receives whatever the poorer wishes to divide.

Christian coöperation applies this principle, first, in the field of ideas and social relations, but carries it also into the field of economics. It recognizes the give and take, but counts the privilege of giving greater than that of getting. It looks to a just and equal share, but emphasizes the right of a weak coöoperator as verging on an equal, rather than a proportionate, share of the fruits of coöperation.

Love is thus agreement and working together. When, therefore, Jesus Christ sums up all human duty as love of God, love of neighbor and love of self, He means, translated into terms of coöperation and likemindedness, the effort to like and work with God, the effort to like and work with fellow-man, and the effort to like and be like oneself—that is, be self-consistent in thought and purpose.

Love of Enemies.

There is no limit in Christian teaching as to this duty of love—with all your heart and mind and soul and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself, is the rule. Jesus makes no compromise on this. When He was asked, Who is my neighbor? He answered, even a Samaritan, your traditional national enemy. Elsewhere He makes this still more emphatic: "Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you," "Do good to them that hate you," "If thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst, give him to drink," is the doctrine of both Old Testament and New Testament Christians.

This is hard doctrine to most. Many attempts have been made in the late days of bitter hatred to avoid this issue. Some of those even who have set the most splendid example of fearless righteousness have hesitated over this and compromised by laying stress on avenging justice as an element of love, visiting on those who have sinned the consequences of their sin, but it is hard to find this in the teaching of Jesus Christ. His point was that He had come to die in order that it might be possible to forgive men for such things and to love them in spite of their acts. In His teaching, love that does not have mercy and forgiveness—which is not willing and anxious to

like and be kind—falls short of love. “If ye love them that love you, what thank have you? for even sinners love those that love them.” “Ye therefore shall be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.” The duty, thus, is plain, simple and emphatic. Feed and clothe even those who despitefully use and persecute you, do them good, coöperate, try to like them and make them like you.

How, then, is it possible to love enemies? Is this a mere counsel of perfection, or is it a plain duty? In fact, under this analysis, the rules are simple: (1) Dwell on the points of likeness, not of difference. No man is quite without likeable points. The greatest of human vices is emphasizing unlikeness or cultivating dislike. (2) Conform one’s own ideas to those of others, so far as possible—i. e., try to like others by trying to understand them. (3) Try to persuade or bring the ideas of others into conformity with one’s own—i. e., try to overcome a man’s dislike and to be liked by him, by explaining or by reasonable self-revelation. (4) Seek some object on which both can work together. Working together is the essence of becoming kind.

The great marvel of the universe is that while we still hated God He loved us; He found something still left in us to like, and showed kindness. He gave His Son to free us from our dislike; we love Him because He first loved us.

The test and exercise of Christian love is the will to coöperate and agree even with those who hate us. It is for this reason that peacemakers are called the sons of God—peacemaking being essentially the effort to produce likemindedness between those who dislike one another.

Christian Faith.

Christian faith is fidelity or keeping faith or loyalty. It is belief on the truth. The emphatic word is truth. Believing a lie is not Christian and is not faith; it is delusion. The antithesis to faith is not disbelief, but believing a lie. Believing is often defined as “accepting as true,” but this misses the main point of Christian faith, which is persistence. The New Testament word for faith suggests not mere receiving or accepting an idea as true, but the positive, active, persistent sticking to an idea, a promise, or a person; keeping faith, keeping promises, loyalty. Used of the inward world, this believing or faith is keeping faith with one’s self; in the outward world of action it is keeping faith with others, or fidelity; in both fields it is unswerving adherence, adhesion, allegiance, or loyalty to an idea or a person accepted as true, so long as that idea or person remains true. Applied to

Jesus Christ, faith means loyalty; every ounce of energy bent on adherence to His person, His ideas and the object of His efforts, through thick and thin, in life or death. Applied to "truth," it means the same. Belief on the truth is loyalty to the truth. This is at the far extreme from sticking to any particular idea as true. It is sticking to an idea because it seems true, but with the subconscious feeling that if by any chance it is something else that is true it is this which one wishes to hold to: it is not loyalty to any idea, but to truth, whatever it may be or wherever it may be, and such loyalty to truth is loyalty to Truth: it is belief on The Truth.

In the field of prayer, faith is importunity and continuity, distinguished from double-mindedness, wavering or doubt. Used of ideas, words or persons, faith is undeviating adherence; fixed, unqualified, unhesitating, unwavering application of heart, mind, soul and strength to the object. In the field of economic affairs, faith is credit or giving credit. It rests on a man's integrity or disposition to keep faith with himself, which manifests itself in his good faith or his disposition to keep contracts and agreements, to fulfill just claims, to fulfill all duties definitely assumed, without pettifogging. Credit is faith in a man's good faith, and on it depends the stability of the economic world.

In the field of science, faith is the working hypothesis, as distinguished from the simple hypothesis or conjecture; it is an idea verified to the point that one may trust his life to it. One's working hypothesis of a bridge is that it will bear one's weight. One does not dogmatize that this is true, but he accepts as true for working purposes; he expects it to prove true under all circumstances. It means that doubt and hesitation are over, so far as action is concerned. He crosses the bridge. Faith is a working hypothesis to which a man will trust his eternal life.

At bottom, the persistence of faith or keeping faith is keeping one's word. The act of inward faith or belief in a thing as true is, as a psychological fact, giving one's word to one's self—making a contract with one's self to stick to this idea unless and until it proves false. Double-mindedness, doubt, faithlessness, unfaith, hesitation, as to such ideas, once received, is disloyalty, faithlessness, breach of agreement with one's self. It results in conflicting ideas, inconsistency, self-dislike or discontent, instability of character. If the idea is proved false, however, sticking to it is worse still; it spells destruction, for the underlying contract is to stick to the truth wherever found.

In outward matters, also, to keep faith is at bottom to keep one's word or formal agreement—the faithless or disloyal servant, husband, debtor or

citizen is one who fails to keep the word by which he has acknowledged agreement reached, whether with wife, creditor or fellow-citizen. National loyalty is established by the oath of allegiance to king or constitution. It consists in keeping faith with either. Disloyalty, bad faith or faithlessness is breaking one's word, whether to one's fellow-citizens in a democracy or to king or quadrumvirate, or whoever makes the laws which the citizen accepts with his citizenship. National loyalty is national good faith, and keeping faith is keeping the laws. It comes to pass, therefore, that the highest type of social virtue is the man who swears to his own hurt and keeps his word—a loyal, honest man who keeps agreement without quibbling; so of nations. On the other hand, the man suspect as to the will to keep contract or treaty is by the nature of human society the least respected of his kind, and, if he is found out, the most unsuccessful. No one will do business with him, or can. So of nations, the "scrap of paper" is the ultimate of social iniquity. The solemn obligation of international undertakings and the sanctity of treaties lies at the foundation of international intercourse.

The highest application of this idea of sticking to a purpose and one's word is in the field of coöperation and likemindedness. Loyalty to Jesus Christ is loyalty to His commandments or teaching, and His teaching is summed up in the command to be likeminded and coöperate with God and with neighbor. It is for the Christian to keep his oath of allegiance by the unremitting, persistent effort after coöperation and likemindedness, even if dealing with the most unwilling, reluctant and thankless; to keep faith where others are faithless, to continue coöperation in lending or giving, even if there is no return or recognition, until by all means, undaunted by rebuff, unswerved by obstacles, unchecked by weariness, unhesitating and unyielding, his persistent effort secures an agreement for co-working. This is Christian faith.

Righteousness.

Righteousness is acting right-wise. Rights, not right, is the keyword; righteousness is the observance of rights; it is the counterpart of freedom, which is the exercise of rights.

Rights are the areas within which a man is utterly free. So long as a man acts within his rights he may do as he pleases; a right is a liberty, a freedom, a franchise.

The ideas of right and of rights come out at the same point in this fact that a right is a liberty. The man who does right is the one who exercises his rights strictly within their own boundaries; he does not meddle or trespass on his neighbors' rights. He observes their rights and keeps within his own. Observing rights, however, involves more than non-interference: it is fulfilling. Rights are active, as well as passive. They include claims, as well as immunities and privileges. They imply exercise, as well as enjoyment and observance implies recognizing claims and performing the duties involved, as well as avoiding trespass. Observing rights means, therefore, doing duties, active and passive, or doing right.

Law is the definition of rights. It fixes and records the boundaries of the territory within which a man is utterly free. It does not create the rights; these are established by use, custom or authority. Laws simply define and record existing rights, immunities, liberties, freedoms, franchises, and provide for their enforcement. In short, they define the area within which a man may act freely or they prohibit trespass on that area.

Rights are thus more than law. They include laws, and much more. Even where rights are defined in laws there is always a margin of right which escapes the best effort at verbal statement, and there are many rights which never are reduced to verbal statement at all, as is recognized in the expressions, use, custom, equity, natural law, unwritten law, moral and divine law. Modern law recognizes this fact in its courts of equity, where reason, mercy and common sense are brought in to cure the unrighteousness caused by the letter of the law. Righteousness is thus more than the observance of law; it is the observance of rights; it is the observance of law, order and equity; the observance of the law, written and unwritten, letter and spirit, and something more. It is the fulfillment of law, natural, human and divine.

In short, righteousness sums up in itself every possible shade of idea which has been or can be attached to the word right or rights; it is being right and doing right, fulfilling rights, doing duty, doing truth, keeping laws, acting with justice and equity. The observance or fulfilling of rights is the basis of and key to the idea of righteousness, the notion of a right as the area of perfect freedom is its kernel, and the sum of the matter is acting right-wise.

The word right means in itself straight or true; when compared with other things it means equal. A right line is a straight line or true line. A right weight or right measure or right angle is right because it is true, just, equal or exact; it balances or fills a standard; it is the "same" bulk or length or weight. Absolute right is straightforwardness; relative right is equality.

At bottom a right is something that goes straightforward. A right line is a straight line, and a straight line harks back to the "stretched cord" of the old Egyptian architects, and to the perpendicular or plumb line stretched by a weight straight toward the center of the earth. The word is close kin to the words direct, erect, correct, upright, downright, and to the rule or ruler; it comes by descent from the idea of marking out boundary lines, which is the type of the idea of rights. A right line is a line direct from point to point, the shortest line, e. g., between two boundary stones, as drawn by the "stretched cord."

Applied to human conduct, right is straightforwardness: the righteous man is straight, true, upright, downright, direct, square, as against one who is crooked, indirect, untrue.

Right as straightforwardness is something which keeps going on continuously, and in going keeps on in its present order. It is said that all the motion of the universe tends to a continuous motion in a straight line. This is the established order; things tend to keep on as they are; possession is nine points of the law. The method of the universe is to set things going in a certain way and have them keep on going in that way, unless they are changed for a reason. A right is a use, a custom, something which has got in the habit of going on in a certain way, and which may or may not be confirmed in that habit by law. Scientific or natural law and human law are the same as to this. Each is the verbal formulation of the way in which things have got in the habit of acting. Moral law looks on this habit of acting as the "will of God," but still this law, too, is the verbal formulation of what men have found to be the way in which God's will does operate: it is what works in the social universe, the way it actually does go on.

Again, right points to equality. According to Euclid, when one straight line meets another straight line the angles become right when they are equal. The mathematical sign of equality is two equal right lines equidistant from one another at all points. This at least symbolizes the main fact as to rights—i. e., equality; and here again right is a synonym for true. A right weight or measure is a true, "correct" or co-right weight or measure, and right and true in this case means equal or exactly corresponding with one another. The exact correspondence of an idea with reality or word with idea or word with act is described as true, but when either idea, word or act does not quite correspond, the idea, word or act is wrong. When brought into correspondence it becomes right or correct. So of a portion—it is unjust or unequal when it does not correspond with a right, untrue when it does not correspond with a standard. When brought into

correspondence the portion becomes the right portion—it is the true or correct weight or measure.

So of human conduct: the righteous man is one who is true, just and equal in his ways—fair, no respecter of persons, unprejudiced, well balanced, square, who judges with equity, and in action counts the rights of others equal with his own.

Just how this idea of right as equal was evolved it is hard to say, but the idea of a right as an area of freedom, a portion marked out for the individual which he is free to have, occupy, or consume, as he pleases, suggests the fact that rights are typically evolved by equal sharing, and this typically determined in right of measure by drawing a right line through any masses of food or fields, or heaps of plunder, separating into two equal portions or halves. The priest or judge draws the “right” line, and each person with right to an undivided one-half watches carefully to see that the line is right and the portions remain equal under physical partition. It is hard to be sure of equality with crooked lines. Crooked lined fences can be changed; it is the right line stretched from boundary point to boundary point which insures equality and permanent fixing of boundary, and forms the surveyor’s art. Once drawn and accepted as equal portions, the right in severalty is established, and a man is free to do with his portion whatever he pleases, where before he has had equal rights to every portion with the other. Rights measurable by weight are determined by balances, and the right weight is an equal weight and a true weight. The right weight is where the portion in one scale equals that in the other, so that the rod is balanced and the scales equal distance from the earth. Balances are just, equal or true when the contents of the scales can be exchanged without affecting the balance. The balance is the symbol of justice, righteousness or equality.

Whether determined by weight or measure, or in any other way, however, rights are equal, and once delivered every man is absolute sovereign of his lot or portion. He has undisputed sovereign rights to the area which lies within his rights. The essential rights, under the fact of the absolute sovereignty of the individual human will are variously described as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; as liberty, equality, fraternity, or as life, freedom, peace and joy. The basis of all these rights is freedom or the right to keep going on as one is going without interference, or else to decide for one’s self on the direction of any change. And the kernel of freedom is equality of rights—the equal right of every man to his right, whatever it may be, large or small. A right is a liberty; it is a fraction of the universe

in which a man is beyond question free. The size of the area has little to do with the matter. The man who owns one acre and the man who has a thousand enjoy equal rights of ownership: the cottage of the one is his castle, just as surely as the palace of the other; each, too, has the same right to be free from trespassing. The foundation stone of all is, however, the certainty that the right will be respected—will prove a right indeed. Freedom implies the equal freedom of others; rights the equal rights of others.

Equality of rights is, in fact, the basis of all righteousness or justice, and this equality at bottom means equal enjoyment on the one hand and equal observance on the other.

Whatever rights may be, righteousness involves the observance of all rights, active and passive, legal and equitable, individual and social, municipal and international, human and superhuman.

Christian Righteousness.

Christian righteousness is just this: it differs from agnostic righteousness at bottom only in its recognitions of the fact that God, too, has rights—i. e., in its recognition of the will of God as the law which defines all rights. Jesus Christ's teaching is that righteousness is fulfilling the law, but a law which is more than written law, whether human or superhuman. Christ came not to destroy the law, but fulfill to the utmost every jot and tittle of it—written and unwritten, Roman and Jewish, human and superhuman, but more especially the weightier matters of the law—justice, mercy and faith. These weightier matters are summed up by Jesus as love of God, neighbor and self. “For he that loveth his neighbor hath fulfilled the law.” “Bear ye one another's burden and so fulfill the law of Christ.” “Fulfill the royal law... thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.” A man is not righteous unless he fulfills letter and spirit, with all his heart, this law of kindness to and coöperation with all one's fellow-men, even one's enemies. The Christian is not freed from the law; on the contrary, he must keep the law not less but more than others; “except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.” Human law concerns itself with the overt act only, but Christ's law regards the will to act as an act begun—anger and hate as incipient murder.

Christian righteousness, again, recognizes that one who knows nothing whatever of written law may by nature “fulfill the law” better than one who has the very practical and tangible aid of written law.

Like all roads to righteousness, the Christian path comes out on equality of rights. "Do to others as ye would they should do to you," "Love thy neighbor as thyself," "Forgive as ye would be forgiven," "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." All this is simply a paraphrase for "Observe men's rights as you expect them to observe yours."

The treaty comes out at the same point, through its use of the word justice, which as a synonym for righteousness is so close to it in the New Testament that the King James translators always use the noun "righteousness" and the verb "justify" for the kindred Greek words. Personified justice is the symbol of equality in right—scales for equality, blindness for impartiality.

Again, everyday human experience comes out at the same point in the proverb "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," and the legal parable of the gored ox. It appears also in more sophisticated form in the phrases "Equality before the law" and "Equality of rights."

All these roads converging on equality of rights start from those simple laws of nature which lie in the ideas of freedom, rights and peace. Freedom is the right to do as one pleases, and is limited only by the fact that all men have equal rights in this. Rights are the areas set off in which a man may enjoy this privilege of doing what he pleases without interference, conditioned only on his equal observance of the rights of others. Peace is simply the state where a man enjoys his rights without running into others or having them run into him; running into one another's rights is the state of conflict or misery. It comes to pass, therefore, that the very simple source of peace, liberty and joy is the strict observance of rights, in order not to overstep boundaries or trespass on the rights of others—the simple observing of the boundaries of the rights of others as you expect others to observe the boundary line of your sovereign territory—doing to others as you would that they should do to you.

As.

If the essence of a Christian league lies in the words love, faith and righteousness, its quintessence is in this word "as," "as ye would," "as thyself," "on earth as in heaven."

"As" means perfect equality; it is short for all-so; it means even so, just so, wholly or quite so. It is "so" intensive, emphatic, superlative—utterly so. The word "so," in turn, is perhaps literally one's own or one's self

(suo?) ; at least it means perfect equality, likeness, correspondence, identity, self-sameness. A thing is "so" when it corresponds with reality. The root of the idea appears best in the double as; as far as, as large as, as many, much, often, soon as—utter equality, reciprocity or correspondence, in short.

Jesus applies this standard of perfect equality and reciprocity to all three essential principles; love, righteousness and faith, and the reason for this is not an arbitrary one; it lies in the nature of human conscious life, which involves equality, reciprocity, mutuality and correspondence. Human personality is the product of action and reaction between man and his environment; it is a matter of give and take. As distinguished from animal life, human life is action and reaction between minds and by means of words. Such action and reaction is, as in every field of nature, normally equal. Normal human personal life calls for utter reciprocity and equality of action in all personal relations, whether between man and man or man and God.

This key principle of equality, mutuality or reciprocity, applied in the field of Christian love, reads "Thou shalt love...thy neighbor as thyself." This involves, in turn, first, mutual coöperation (equal work and equal profit), and, second, perfect likemindedness—being of the "same mind" with Christ Jesus and being of the same mind "one towards another."

In the field of righteousness the principle implies perfect equality and reciprocity, as to rights and duties, observing the rights of others as one's own, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."

In the field of faith the principle spells mutual fidelity and mutual trust. Faith is, as above said, adherence; in the last analysis, adherence to one's word or promise—keeping one's own word to others and expecting others to keep their word to us. This reciprocal keeping of one's word is the basis of all society and all social relations, whether between man and man or man and God. Faith as good faith, fidelity or loyalty, is holding to one's own word; faith as belief or trust or credit is holding another person to his word. The essence of the matter is equal keeping or adherence. It means keeping faith as we expect another to keep faith, believing as one is believed in, trusting as one is trusted, sticking to another as he sticks to us.

A homely but plain illustration of what the principle of complete reciprocity means in this matter of faith is found in the field of ordinary business affairs, where mutual belief, "credit" or trust, on the one hand, and fidelity, good faith or loyalty on the other are embodied in such expressions as "credit system," "debit and credit," "trust," "trustee," "trust company." As applied in this field, credit and trust, agreement and coöperation,

rights, claims and duties, all find typical expression in the business contract. A business transaction begins, as a rule, with proposition and counter-proposition. It proceeds to an agreement or contract, e. g., a deed, a promissory note, a bank check. This involves mutual undertakings, obligations or considerations, equal in the eyes of the respective parties, and it is conditioned on the mutual and equal performance to which the transaction then proceeds. This agreement, even if signed and sealed, is not complete, and cannot be enforced at law, unless a consideration has been tendered and accepted, while, on the other hand, the acceptance of a consideration makes even oral agreement valid. Performance of consideration on the one hand requires performance on the other. Non-performance on either part forfeits right to demand performance by the party of the other part, or permits collection by legal process, and this is the essence of the matter. Writing, signing, sealing and the rest are merely methods of recording evidence as to the fact.

One significant aspect of this matter for religious interpretation is, that while a contract is not legally enforceable unless obligations are equal and mutual, one dollar, with "other good and valuable considerations," is recognized in law as equal, and "love and affection" are recognized as "good and valuable considerations."

The contract, which is an agreement enforceable by law, is the most complete form of agreement, but every agreement, understanding, or even promise, is at bottom the same in its elements of: (1) mutual acceptance, (2) equal value of the consideration in the eyes of the receivers, (3) equal right to claim performance, fulfillment or penalty, (4) equal obligation to perform, forfeit or pay penalty.

It is the vice and misfortune of ordinary business that it must proceed by strict forms of law, in view of the fact that many men are on the watch all the time to take every advantage which law allows, but much of the best business is, nevertheless, still done between men who understand one another under the principle of the gentlemen's agreement and the idea of honor, with the express waiver of legal enforcement. The gospel system simply carries this idea of honor and the gentlemen's agreement to a logical end. It counts every least promise as binding as a legal contract. Its rule is "Let your yea be yea and your nay nay"—no affidavit or notary certificate is necessary. In Christ's teaching each slightest promise involves equal and perfect trust, equal and perfect fidelity, and equal consideration, although in Christian practice the consideration is commonly only "love and affection."

When all has been said, therefore, the golden rule is only the codification of human experience as to what will work best in the world, with a strong emphasis on best. The negative Confucian form, the proverb, "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for a gander," and the novel, "Put yourself in his place," all together spell "Do to others as ye would that they should do to you."

It is a hard thing, however, even to realize how one would wish to be treated in given circumstances. The effort to "put yourself in his place" is perhaps the hardest, as well as the most characteristic, effort of man, for the power to put one's self utterly in the place of another man, to see things from his point of view, to identify one's personality wholly with that of the other for a time in order to judge things utterly as he judges, is the supreme act of mental exertion. It means visualizing or realizing in one's self another man's whole mind and circumstances—becoming that person for an instant. The ability to do this is nevertheless in large measure the condition of success in business, politics or diplomacy. It is "knowing men," and there is no such practice in this art as trying to put one's self in another's place with the definite intention of realizing how to do as one would be done by. It is a matter of fact that any body of men who will devote themselves to this fundamental exercise of the human personality, knowing or understanding others, and will thus develop the ability to realize how the other man is thinking and feeling, will inevitably become the ruling class. It is for this reason that, wherever it is alive, Christianity is the dominant force in civilization.

The simple fact is, therefore, that Christian teaching in this matter of equality and reciprocity is only the sum of ordinary human experience of what will work in business, politics and international relations, carried through—done instead of talked about, carried to perfection instead of being shirked or skimped. The distinction of Christian teaching is simply that it calls for perfection. This is the only admitted Christian goal, "Be ye therefore perfect as your Father who is in heaven is perfect"—as.

The Right to Mercy.

When this teaching of Jesus Christ as to perfect likemindedness with himself, perfect doing of his teachings as to God's will, perfect regard for the rights of others, perfect fidelity, perfect giving (sell all that thou hast), perfect forgiving (if thou hast ought against any man), the literal love of enemies, non-resistence, and the rest, is urged, the retort always is, in effect,

It is impossible: this is a counsel of perfection; no one ever does or can fulfill these ideals literally. How can a man love his enemy or love anyone as himself? How can he observe the rights of others wholly as his own? how can he trust perfectly and be perfectly faithful? It is asking too much. It is beyond human nature.

Now, the Christian religion is, of course, the very last to deny that all men have sinned and fall short of the glory of God. The commonest reproach against it is the emphasis that it puts on sin. "There is none that doeth good, no, not one." Original sin, visiting iniquities to the third and fourth generation, atonement for sin, and the like, are red rags, not only to non-believers, but to many theologians, who resort to all sorts of hypotheses to soften the Christian statement of the human situation, "If any man thinketh himself to be without sin, he deceiveth himself and the truth is not in him."

The Christian religion, too is the very last to mistake literal observance or perfectionism for perfection—the mistake of many Pharisees and Tolstoians. Christ took great pains to make plain the difference between the letter which killeth and the spirit which makes alive. Christian perfection lies in fulfilling all righteousness, letter and spirit, and this means being more Tolstoian than Tolstoi—"Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees," "These ought ye to have done and not to have left the others undone." There is no letting down: there seems to be no place in His teaching for qualifying the love of enemies by introducing retributive justice into love, or any such letting down as puts the ten commandments above the two, e. g., the law against killing above the rights of little children to protection.

When, therefore, men allege that no one is perfect or can be in this world, the Gospel meets him more than half way. "Forgive us our trespasses" is the Christian's daily prayer.

This recognition of the fact that no man is perfect—and, above all, that one is not himself perfect—is, according to the teaching of Jesus Christ, the starting point of the whole matter. The fact that all fall short makes mercy and forgiveness necessary, but it is impossible to deal with mercy if men do not recognize their own faults or trespasses. The man who is beyond hope is the man who does not confess to himself that he has done wrong or can do wrong.

There are, in fact, and in the Gospel teaching, three kinds of men: those who recognize and regret their failures, those who recognize their failures and resent the standards which they are required to reach, and those who do not recognize their sins at all. These latter may be divided into those

who do not recognize the difference between good and evil and those who recognize sin when it appears in others but are quite unconscious when the same sin emerges in themselves. Only the first class is on the way to salvation.

It is not natural to recognize one's faults, or even to want to. Now and then some seer exclaims "Oh wad some power the giftie gie us to see ousrels as ithers see us," but really we dodge the matter and hate the power that gives us the "giffie." The candid friend and the enfant terrible are among the most unpopular classes of mankind. In order fully to express what human nature is in this matter of recognizing unpleasant facts, men have invented a legend about the ostrich who buries his head in the sand. Nevertheless, without recognition there is no salvation, and to recognize is to regret—or else accept responsibility and take consequences. The man who recognizes and regrets has been born again: he acts contrary to nature. If he gets the habit he is saved; if he does not he is lost—in this world if not in the next. Verity is not in him. He deceives his own self: he is beyond hope: he is lost. The recognition of error in one's mental or moral processes is, on the other hand, salvation, or the beginning of wisdom, because it makes correction possible and puts one on the guard another time, not only against this particular error, but against all error, for each realization makes more vivid the fact of the ease with which even the best trained mind and the most alert critical consciousness can slip into error. The man who is always on the alert for error in himself is therefore saved, and this alert consciousness of the factors which make for error is humility or meekness—the beginning of verity, and therefore of power.

Humility or recognition of one's own liability to error is thus the beginning of salvation in the Christian scheme as in human nature: it is the condition of truth, whether in religion or science, and truth reached is salvation.

This fear of being wrong, as it is the condition of truth so it is the condition of power. The opening of the mind to truth is the opening of the mind to grace. Humility spells increase of power, and therefore it is that the meek inherit the earth. Therefore it is that Moses, the meekest of men, became the most passionate and the greatest personal power in human history save Jesus Christ. That Christians are asked to imitate the meekness and gentleness of Jesus Christ is not so much because it is the path to salvation as because it is the path to power; the certain road to utter truth by the perfect elimination of error. Humility is the fear of error: it is at the same time that fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom.

This intellectual humility is a trait common in strong personalities, and where religion is in question it has often developed a profound consciousness of sin in men who seem to have the least reason for despair, according to the conventional ideas of sin. Men never tire of scoffing at this so-called "morbidness," which the present generation is alleged to have outgrown, and for which it has substituted a cheerful complacency without gloom. This consciousness of error is, however, proportioned, not to the sins themselves, but to the power of the personality which is realizing its shortcomings. The exacting scientist worries endlessly over error invisible to a sophomore experimenter; so St. Paul and the whole chorus of great religious experimentalists cry out, "Oh, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" These men are so keenly conscious of the insidiousness of error, and of the fact that the slightest error in calculation may lead to overwhelming disaster (e. g., a Montreal bridge), that they are almost in despair at their appalling helplessness; but this is the world-wide extreme from morbidness. Of course, it is equally as "morbid" and dangerous to sanity to confess error where there is none as it is to boast virtue which does not exist. All mental untruth is insanity, and the stronger the personality the greater the danger that believing untruth in either direction will result in fixed delusion. The only safety for a strong man, therefore, is utter verity, the willingness to face the facts of his own character and of the real universe as they are, the absolute naked truth. Failure to do this leads to various kinds and degrees of unsoundness—self-delusion, arrogance, complacency—all those vices, in short, which are commonly lumped together as hypocrisy. There is nothing in human action which called forth such vehement rebuke from Jesus Christ and His apostles as just this smug assumption of freedom from error: "God I thank Thee that I am not as the rest of men." The quiet rebuke, "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone," may or may not be authentic, but there is no doubt of our Lord's attitude towards those scribes and Pharisees who are hypocrites. They are "fools and blind," who strain out gnats and swallow camels and are "whited sepulchres." In the same spirit St. Paul says, "Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?" "Wherefore thou art without excuse, O man, whosoever thou art, that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doth practice the same things...And reckonest thou this, O man, who judgest them that practice such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?"

In short, the humbugs and poseurs in spiritual things have scant mercy at the hands of Jesus, although He is, in all His teaching, mercy incarnate. This is simply because such men are not candidates for mercy. If they do not confess their faults, even to themselves, how can they be forgiven? This is the point at which even divine mercy finds itself baffled. The climax of divine helplessness to help man is found at the point where the effort to change men's minds by means of words is met by this complacency and self-satisfaction, this firm conviction that a man is not as other men are, that his ideas and acts are wholly correct and need no change. This intense realization of the sins of other men, combined with utter failure to understand that a man himself is actually practicing the same things, is the point, one may say, and the only point, at which, by the nature of things, God himself can do nothing. The man who deceives his own self into thinking that he is perfect when he is not leaves no joint in his armour for the sword of truth to penetrate. It is the sum of human folly—this conceit of flawlessness—as meekness and humility are the beginning of wisdom. Therefore it is that to think of one's self more highly than one ought to think is dangerous. The man who thinks himself to be something deceives himself—he measures himself with faulty men and forgets to measure himself with God. On the other hand, those who recognize their hopeless nothingness in the presence of a God—if there is a God—are by way of realizing how far they are from Omniscience, as to the matter of knowing what is good or right to do, and how far from Omnipotence in their power to do what they recognize as right. They realize, therefore, how utterly their welfare depends on some system of mercy or forgiveness.

This realization that all men fall short of perfection is not confined to theists. Every man, cultivated in human experience, shrinks from boasting, despises self-conceit and hates himself when he finds himself betrayed into anything of the sort. He is in mortal terror of waking up some day to find himself a humbug. The theist simply puts this terror on its inferences by positing a time when all men who think themselves flawless will wake to find themselves poseurs. All cynics who know the experience will confess that the idea of an eternal realization of one's self as humbug is "hell enow." Christians simply allege a time when Truth will lay bare man's inmost soul—even to himself.

In the last analysis, all men, theists or atheists, Christians or agnostics, believe in a future judgment: it may be before or after death, on earth or in heaven, by men or by God, but all men act in the hope or fear of some sort of an accounting in this world or the next. Those who do not believe

in a judgment of God fear, nevertheless, man's judgment in the shape of social criticism, business distrust, adverse public opinion during life or "history" and dishonor after death. Those, on the other hand, who do believe in a final judgment by Jesus Christ at the last day regulate their every act in view of the fact that every deed, word or thought is being recorded and filed for their case at that great day.

Farther than this, right-minded men, as a rule, not only expect, but want a judgment day: all men know what it is to be misjudged, injured, denied well-earned rewards, misrepresented, forced even to doubt themselves. They realize, therefore, the need of some court of last appeal which shall pass a final judgment and issue a final decree. If, therefore, they do not believe in a judgment by Omnipotence they invent perchance a "court of public opinion" or a "verdict of history." When Grey and von Bethmann-Hollweg were solemnly protesting each his innocence of causing the war, one appealed to history, the other to the final judgment. In both cases it meant an appeal to absolute truth, and the wish for a final decree, judgment or verdict defining and establishing it. Why it is that men should care about what men say of them after they are dead is one of the curiosities of human nature, but the fact is that they do, and this operates both to deter from wrongdoing and to stimulate to good deeds. The fear or favor of men, whether living or dead, is, however, a slight motive compared with the fear of Him who has power over eternal life and with the hope in his favor. The appeal to either court, whether history or the Judge of all the earth, is a serious enough matter, but an appeal to Omnipotent justice is appalling above all things to one who realizes his own faults.

The single comfort and hope of logical believers in this final judgment is the fact that it is Jesus Christ who will be the judge. On the bench He will be the same Jesus Christ that he was on the Mounts. Even this comfort, on its face, is no comfort. Except for the factor of mercy it is terror. No judge can be imagined to set a higher standard of perfection, penetrate shams more unfailingly, or be more intolerant of those who condemn in others what they practice themselves. Except for mercy a judgment by Jesus Christ is pure terror. But happily mercy is a factor, and the final judgment, since it is by Jesus Christ, a thing to be welcomed in all its aspects.

The first aspect of this final judgment of Jesus Christ is **truth**. It will be a judgment "in truth:" the Judge Himself is Truth. This means naked fact. All coverings will be stripped off, especially those of pose and self-deceit, and we shall appear to all, and more especially to ourselves, exactly

as we are. Those who practice verity in this life will realize what punishment this, in itself, will be, except for grace and mercy; but at the same time these will be the ones best prepared for the ordeal.

The second aspect of Christ's final judgment is **mercy**. This mercy is not a natural right. Law calls for equal and reciprocal obligation. All men have come short. Failure spells penalty. The judgment finds facts and law; penalty follows. All men have trespassed; they are doomed if nature is allowed to take its course. The penalty of error is death and is self-executing. Neither gravitation nor the typhoid germ nor the lie shows mercy: if one swallows the germ or the lie it works death in him. He is lost. The man bitten by a copperhead snake, in the course of nature dies: the soul that sinneth it shall die. The man infected with untruth is moribund; death is already at work in him.

Mercy is, nevertheless, in the Christian scheme a right. Every man who faces the final judgment may, according to Christian teaching, face it with humility and penitence, to be sure; but, nevertheless, with confidence, pleading the right to forgiveness. This right, it is alleged, was purchased by Jesus Christ. Just what this means is a matter for theologians rather than for practical seekers after world unity, but this is the Christian idea: it is founded on a promise of God, who cannot deny himself. Somehow Christ's life and death was a consideration for this promise, and a consideration which has equal value in the eye of Omnipotent Justice. It gave Jesus Christ the right to give the right, and He gives it as a right; a binding obligation, also for a reciprocal and equal consideration—love and affection, and this love and affection includes the will to coöperate and to be kind, to trust and keep faith, to observe rights and do right. This is the condition of mercy, and this condition is summed up in the teaching of Jesus Christ in one very definite consideration which is the proof that "love and affection" are real, and this is the *sine qua non* of forgiveness. The right to mercy is conditioned on showing mercy, and the right to forgiveness on the showing of forgiveness.

Mercy and forgiveness of others is thus the prime consideration for one's own right to mercy. The disposition to mercy is Jesus Christ's prime test of a man's salvability. Both records of the Lord's prayer lay special stress on this factor. "Forgive us our debts as we have forgiven our debtors," Jesus says, and then goes on to an exposition which reveals this prayer as the most hazardous prayer which a man can pray, "For if you forgive men their trespasses your Heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your

trespasses.' Again He says: "Judge not that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge it shall be measured to you again."

It is at this point that the man who practices verity with himself finds himself in the lowest pit of hopelessness. The right to mercy itself is legally conditioned on the unfailing exercise of mercy and forgiveness, even toward our enemies, and here is the very point where he falls short farthest and oftenest. His only hope of salvation is free and full forgiveness, even of those who shall remain his enemies and are hating and injuring him in every way, together with the continued will to coöperate with, be kind to, keep faith with, trust and observe all the rights of those who are still hating and injuring! Who is sufficient for this? Who in the world really does forgive as he would be forgiven? Who can honestly say that he has not hated "the Germans" or now really loves them? Of course, literally, no one. Therefore, even under the contract for forgiveness, every man faces a final judgment with the certainty of an adverse decree, save for one farther thing—faith.

The third aspect of Christ's final judgment is **faith**. The last hope of man lies in the fact that this judgment will be founded on a man's faith—that is to say, on his trust and fidelity, faith being not any degree of success, but simply the persistent purpose—the unfailing will to coöperate, to be kind, to trust, to keep faith, to observe rights—and, above all, to forgive.

This does not mean that a man is justified by good intentions, but it does mean that he is saved by unfailing good intention; that is, by steadfast persistence, by the resolute, unflagging will to do right and rise above all failure. It depends on keeping the intention. Hell, it is said, is paved with good intentions, but these are abandoned good intentions; heaven is paved with intentions or resolutions which persist to the end, in spite of failures. The faithful man is one who counts mistakes as experience by which to correct future action, who marches face forward to the judgment seat of Christ. It is to him that overcometh that the crown is given. If such a man errs, even in the matter of forgiveness, and seventy times seven, he is seventy times seven forgiven by the Divine Judge, for seventy times seven he has resolved to fight it out on this line and become forgiving, even if it takes forever to conquer his instinct for hatred and unkindness and get the habit of obeying Jesus Christ.

The Christian teaching is thus, in short, that the persistent will to forgive and show mercy, even to the unkind, thankless and hostile, is the sole but indispensable condition of mercy at the final judgment of Christ—the last great day.

The One Essential.

All the essentials for a Christian League of Nations resolve themselves thus into one—faith, or the persistent will to exercise loyalty; that is, trust in and fidelity to the words of Jesus Christ, including the commands as to coöperation, kindness, trust, good faith, reciprocity towards God and man and mercy towards man. In particular, the essential for a Christian League is the persistent will to secure this league. The increasing and complete exercise of this will, so Christian teaching avers, carries with it the unceasing and entire coöperation of Omnipotence, and has, therefore, in itself the germ of irresistible power—that enabling power which has so far been found lacking in actual human effort after permanent peace and liberty.

In speaking of faith as the one essential, the chief thing to be remembered is that in the Christian system faith is not persistent trust and fidelity merely, but persistent trust in and fidelity to truth, and especially that Personal center of all reality who is called The Truth. Faith presupposes truth and anticipates love. Truth is the foundation of all, love is the perfection of all, but faith is the germ or minimum factor of all; coöperation, agreement, good faith, trust, righteousness, and all the rest. The persistent will to realize truth, to trust truth, and to keep faith with truth, made perfect, is this love, which is perfect coöperation plus perfect kindness, and this persistent loyalty or will to trust truth and be faithful to truth is irresistible.

Finally, it should be said that the irresistible power of loyalty to truth as the all-sufficient energy for working changes in men's minds, and as the universal substitute for physical force, is not an esoteric or mystical matter, it is the order of nature. Like the rest of Christ's teachings, this is simply a natural law, pushed to its ultimate. It is a necessary factor of God's evolving universe like gravitation or Mendel's law, or any other law of the Creator. It is, in fact, the constructive "urge" or principle of evolution itself; it is persistence in a forward movement, the refusal to stop going on. It is Browning's "Still dauntless the slug horn to his lips he set," and Goethe's "Whoe'er aspires unwearingly is not beyond redeeming." Faith is simply the normal exercise of normal personality: it is man himself attempting to effect changes in his environing universe, while at the same time adapting himself to what he finds. It is moving on in a purpose without allowing himself to be baffled or driven back, seizing on every means for accomplishing that purpose and perfecting his work: it is, in short, the creative will which is man's personality. This will, applied to the idea of a Christian League of Nations, will be irresistible. It calls for no bloody

revolution—it abhors physical force and at the same time despises all deceit or indirection in influencing men's minds. It trusts wholly in the power of truth and words for producing the unparalleled changes which a reign of utter peace and liberty involves. This will is non-resistant to physical force, but inflexible and irresistible in the field of ideas. Faith in the truth is the only essential. If the league of nations for permanent peace and liberty on Christian principles fails, it will be because faith in the truth fails—loyalty to, trust in, belief in the Truth is the normal and unfailing channel of irresistible power.

III.

Christian Principles, the League and the Treaty.

Self-criticism.

An attempt to apply the Christian standards of coöperation to the treaty in a systematic criticism suggests, first, the fact that all Christian criticism begins with self-criticism: "First cast out the beam that is in thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."

"Judge not that ye be not judged" does not imply, however, that a Christian may not exercise a rigid historical, social or political criticism. Quite the contrary. Criticism lies at the heart of Christian duty; it is the medium through which social changes are brought about; it is the necessary means of effective action in performing the duty of love to neighbor, to God and to self. Criticism is the effort after absolute verity, the naked truth, whether as to one's own deeds, thoughts, purposes, or those of others, and criticism is, therefore, the fundamental requirement in a system founded on belief that truth is the necessary condition of peace, liberty and immortality. Christian criticism is a pressing duty, but it begins at home. Criticism is literally judgment, and popularly it is adverse judgment or negative criticism; picking flaws, the search for error, casting out motes and beams. Essentially, however, it is the search for truth, not the search for error: it is constructive, not negative: its rule is "Test all things, hold fast that which is good." This process reveals and eliminates error, but its object is truth. This applies to all criticism: scientific criticism, e. g., proceeds by the method of trial and error, and involves a "search for error," but this does not mean primarily hunting for motes: it means testing rigidly, by

every imaginable test, in the hope that it will work, and if it does not, searching the reason—finding and eliminating the error. The search for faults as faults, looking for something to find fault with, is the antithesis of the scientific spirit. Finding that a law works is a joy; finding a fault, a blow to the scientist—and to the Christian. All criticism looks to a verdict of acquittal, not condemnation; to finding innocence, not guilt.

Again, Christian criticism, like all criticism, is a judgment of facts, not a judgment of persons; it is a legal finding or verdict, not a legal sentence. Criticism confronts facts with criteria, data, principles and laws; it tests their consistency with the laws or principles, but criticism is the jury, not the judge. This fact that criticism judges facts, not men, does not, however, make its testing less rigid, rather more so, for, being impersonal, it becomes utterly devoid of all those hindrances to exact finding which are associated with personal privilege, power or prestige, on the one hand, or with the sentiment of mercy on the other. The judge should not care whose ox is gored, the critic does not: ox A was gored by ox B; to the critic the oxen belong to X and Y.

Christian criticism is thus simply pure criticism—a finding as to fact and its correspondence with criteria—it leaves the rest to judges, human or divine, as the case may call for. In considering the treaty and the League of Nations, therefore, the Christian critic, as critic, has really nothing to do with final judgment, reward or punishment, praise or blame; ally and enemy are alike to him, or, rather, neither exist for him; he is dealing with the facts and acts of anonymous persons, X Y Z, weighed in the balance with his criteria, A B C. He is wholly content to leave the final judgment to the Omniscient Judge and the final judgment, and give every energy to finding truth—first, by testing his own acts, thoughts and criteria, and eliminating error, so far as possible; then, with clearer vision, trying to find, first, the truth in every man and every idea, and then everything in every idea or act which hinders the working of truth as peace and liberty in the world.

Christian criticism is, therefore, incisive and relentless in the measuring of facts by criteria, but it begins at home. Every essay in criticism, whether by a peace conference or a critic of it, should begin with the prayer "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those that trespass against us," and proceed, first, to the effort to eliminate error from one's own findings of fact and one's own criteria.

In trying, therefore, to apply Christian criteria to the present treaty, Christians must begin by confessing that it is the fault of the Christian

church that there has not been an effective league of nations long ago, and that if the treaty is self-contradictory, unjust, ineffective, faithless as to its pledges and hypocritical, Christianity is, in large measure, responsible, as well as responsible for the war itself, and for that state of continued misery for hundreds of millions of persons which seems to be the direct fault of the faulty treaty of peace and the defective plan for a league of nations. If Christians had kept faith with Omnipotence all this would have been set right long ago; war would be ended, universal coöperation in producing goods begun.

Moreover, the Christian and American idea of the self-sovereignty of the individual being what it is, every Christian must confess his own individual responsibility for the war and the worse state after the war, and every American Christian must share with President Wilson responsibility for the Peace Conference and the American share in the treaty, and that whether he voted for or against Woodrow Wilson for President. The logic of this is bitter, but it is the logic of Christianity. Every sovereign individual is responsible for whatever is left undone, and in the end, because of the nature of faith and prayer, he becomes responsible for what is done or not done even by others.

In particular, Christians must confess their responsibility for two great failures; first, the failure to realize that the kingdom of Jesus Christ is the tangible reign of social peace and freedom on earth; and, second, the failure to coöperate with one another. These two failures are closely bound up together—the failure to coöperate being due to the dimness of the vision of the common object or effort. So long as Christian attention is scattered by the effort at the hand-picking of individuals for eternal happiness instead of the effort to recruit crusaders for righteousness it misses the first essential for coöperation, the single object for common effort, in this case, the kingdom of liberty and peace, the concrete human society where Christ rules, His teaching is the actual rule of conduct, God's will done on earth as it is in heaven—in short, a Christian League of Nations—the Kingdom of Christ on earth as a real social State.

Whatever the reason for it may be, the failure of Christians to coöperate is, at all events, the most obvious beam in our Christian eye—most obvious at least to the non-Christian. The contrast between beam and mote is here so great as to be grotesque to outsiders—a true caricature. Christians who, under the name of love, profess coöperation as the essence of all religion, and cry aloud for world unity, cannot even coöperate with one another! This plain fact must be faced. Christians profess coöperation as the essence

of love, and have reached agreement that the common object of coöperation is the reign of liberty, peace and joy, but they cannot agree themselves to coöperate; Catholics cannot coöperate with Protestants, and orthodox Protestant denominations cannot coöperate with Protestant denominations; and even the half dozen leagues formed to promote church unity among Protestants cannot coöperate with one another in the effort to secure Protestant coöperation! If Protestants cannot even agree among themselves to coöperate, how can they blame the Catholic church for not being willing to coöperate with this incoherent mass of denominations? Whatever may be true of Catholics or orthodox, therefore, every Protestant Christian, at least, must say to himself plainly "Thou hypocrite."

This failure of Christians themselves to coöperate operates, first, to paralyze their influence with others—Jews, Mohammedans, agnostics and the rest—towards international coöperation; but worse than this is the failure itself which means the loss of the fruits of coöperation. It is a law of the universe that two men working together can produce more than both working separately. This applies in the same way to two religious denominations, or two great branches of the church. The power of all Christians working together for a common end by organized methods would, therefore, be immeasurably greater than when, as now, they are broken up into independent, self-sovereign organizations, working individually, without a common purpose and coördinated methods. All churches coöperating may be tenfold or a hundredfold more powerful than a mob of churches—although it remains true that coöperation, for greatest effectiveness, may not only not ignore, but must emphasize the self-sovereignty of every church, denomination, local church and individual, for Christian unity is not merely organic, it is multicellular. This loss of power through lack of coöperation is greatest at the point of coöoperative thinking and coöoperative prayer; it is obvious that united effort in thinking and prayer by the whole Christian church might have easily brought about the state of permanent peace and freedom, and thereby have multiplied economic production tenfold, long ago.

The logic of this situation for this committee is inevitable, and has been accepted by the committee through the creation of a Sub-Committee on Christian Unity to study the problem—and help cast out the beam. The farther logic is also inexorable: it makes the committee responsible for getting it done. It is true that the very charter of the committee forbids organized effort for the practical ends: its method is study, its end findings; the working out of findings belongs to the churches. Nevertheless, it is true that the Sword of the Spirit is the word of truth. Findings are the tools of

the organized forces. If Christian unity and world unity is ever made effective it will be through such means, and if prayer is anything it applies to the shaping of thoughts as well as to, or more than, acts. Findings are the food for prayer. They suggest what is to be prayed for. We shrink from the final logic, but, in fact, it is inevitable: either what Christ teaches is not true, or this committee is responsible if church unity is not a fact within a twelvemonth. This same thing, it is true, may be said of every group of Christians, or even of every individual Christian, but at least it applies supremely to every individual member of this committee which has been set up for the express purpose of making a wholly unsectarian effort to change the world by means of words. If it fails it will fail in a supreme task; it will need forgiveness in peculiar measure; no realization of inadequacy, or plea that other groups also fail, is any excuse. Those who appointed the committee may have erred in the choice of members, and the members themselves may make every sort of error known to human experience, but if the committee fails it will be because it is unfaithful; not persistent enough in the use of prayer and words of truth, not loyal enough to The Truth and The Word. If some effective organization to ensure permanent political and social peace and liberty is not formed it will be the fault of this committee, and it should confess its responsibility. Certainly, every Christian, and especially any member of this committee, as he approaches any concrete plan for securing world unity, on which a certain amount of coöperative thinking has been done, and in which certain steps towards realization have actually been taken, must approach the task of criticising it with the prayer "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive all shortcomings of others in this real effort"

Merits of the Treaty.

In the second place, as Christian negative criticism begins with the discovery and confession of faults in itself, so its constructive criticism begins with recognition of the good in others, and this, too, applies especially in a matter like the league covenant, which, whatever it is not, is a concrete something, a going concern. The burden of proof is double on those who destroy a going matter which aims to do good, when it is the only going organization for the purpose.

In this case the league plan is not only a going matter, but it has, beyond question, some high excellencies, plain on the face of it. To begin with, and at its very beginning, the declared object of the proposed league is interna-

tional and industrial peace, and its method, coöperation, strikes at the very heart of the problem, whether political or industrial. "International coöperation" (pt.I) and "Social justice" (pt.XIII) are surely objects for which all rightminded men can agree to work together. Over and over again in the treaty the changes are rung on this simple and vital theme of coöperation, in its various aspects; international coöperation, abstinence from war, universal and permanent peace, law as the actual rule of conduct, the solemn obligation of international undertakings, the sanctity of treaties, justice, social justice, humanity, international justice, international morality, the care of defective, dependent and spendthrift people as a trust. Altogether the document sets forth a noble purpose in a noble phrasing of the ideas of coöperation, agreement, good faith and equality, a phrasing closely approaching the Christian phrasing as "love, faith and righteousness."

Farther than this, it must be recognized that many of the details of the treaty—perhaps most of the details of the covenant—show evidences of expert thinking, and will no doubt stand the test of practical criticism. They have, in fact, stood this test in the very thorough, if narrow, scrutiny by the United States Senate, which, in the end, found rather few points of hopeless disagreement. Even if all the points of reasonable disagreement were sponged out clean, it would still leave a substantial basis remaining, not very well fitted for immediate execution, to be sure, but a robust basis, none the less, for farther constructive work by means of the usual processes of organized coöperative thinking and in some new world conference. In principle, therefore, and in many details, it may be said that it is universally agreed that the present covenant on its face is sound. There is much that may be said in criticism of the motives and moves which led to the final form of the league covenant and the introduction of it into the treaty, but it is at least a concrete formulation of principles and methods, with many elements of supreme value which can stand the most exacting criticism. As such, and to this point, it deserves the whole-hearted appreciation of those millions whose promised reward for coöperation in the war was coöperation to ensure permanent peace. It is a real effort, however defective and thwarted by powerful self-interests, to make good the promise to humanity for its coöperation in this "war to end war."

Still farther, and by the same token of its real merits, allowance must be made for shortcomings of the covenant and definite credit given to those responsible for the merits, while the merits themselves must be kept steadily in mind through all adverse criticism. Americans especially, sore over what seems to them the bad faith of the Peace Conference, and many sorer still

over what seems to them the ill treatment of the constitutional rights of their constitutional representatives, must not fail to realize that the introduction of the covenant is itself the result of the tenacious good faith of Woodrow Wilson with himself and some of his pledges, and that if this covenant proves to be, as it certainly must be, a long step towards a real league and permanent peace, this action on his part should ensure to him the permanent, if discriminating, gratitude and praise of mankind. The mere fact that these principles are thus put on record in a real plan is an achievement in civilization, a milestone of human progress, and the credit belongs to President Wilson. However colossal his errors may have been, it is not likely that the winnowing of history will, in the end, grudge to him enduring praise, at least, for personal character, sincere patriotism and the introduction of the idea of organized world coöperation into the field of practical action. In the same way, Mr. Lloyd George, too, must be credited with a certain large good faith in supporting Mr. Wilson in this matter, whatever qualification may be necessary when the final facts are known as to responsibility for that adroit nullification of Mr. Wilson's honest intentions in the body of the treaty, which has so outraged American feeling.

Again, it must be loyally recognized that those three or four men who usurped the world's government for a season, and who wrote this constitution for the coming world, were all practically above suspicion and open to admiration in the matter of loyalty to duty as they saw it. The faults of the treaty are rather the faults of extreme loyalty to national interests and convictions under a false and short-sighter theory of national self-interest and a code of diplomatic procedure equally as mistaken and vicious as the code of the laws of warfare, which includes deceit, false propaganda and that creed of "military necessity" which played havoc with the world throughout the war. The men concerned must all, so far as historical criticism goes, be credited with good faith with themselves and their countries, at least, whatever may be said of the conduct of these astute players of the diplomatic game toward one another, under the rules of the game, in the long four-hand sitting at the Hotel Crillon.

Finally, so far as the "severity" of the treaty and the consistency of this severity with the Christian duty of charity is concerned, it must not be forgotten that the Germans had certainly practiced severity and "deserved" (save for mercy) severity. It must be remembered that all the quadrumvirate were deeply impressed by the sufferings of Belgium, and keenly aware of undersea warfare and of Brest-Litovsk. They realized vividly that, except for a tremendous repentance, self-humiliation and reso-

lution of reform, the relentless and arrogant legalism of a renascent Germany would soon rewreck civilization. It was the merciless German legalism as to war necessity and undersea fighting, together with the self-revelations of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, which let down the bars for the rampant "legitimate national aspirations" at the Peace Conference and goaded the instinct of self-defense, as well as the natural human vindictiveness and national covetousness, of the conference. What Christian dares to say that he himself, under these circumstances, and, above all, without his own working hypothesis as to truth, power, prayer and the future life, would have been more consistent or merciful?

Defects of the Treaty.

All this having been said, however, it remains true that the treaty has been charged with many faults, and that it is the duty of Christian criticism to "test all things," without fear or favor, before holding fast to them as good. It is true, also, that this criticism must still consider itself likewise, lest in the very testing it "err and fall short" in verity, equity, kindness, loyalty, mercy or forgiveness, but it must, nevertheless, test in good faith, without sentimentality, without evading the truth, and without fear. After the grilling of the last twelve months in the United States Senate and by ex-Paris correspondents and ex-members of the conference, it is not to be expected that many more motes will be discovered. Moreover, in expert matters of economics, law and polities, not to mention geography, ethnography, and morality, a critic must necessarily prefer, in general, the results of experts to the unaided results of his own independent observations. What he has to do is to gather the alleged defects and test by the Christian criteria. This may be done by grouping as defects in (1) humility, (2) verity, (3) good faith, (4) trust, (5) coöperation, (6) kindness or agreement, (7) justice or equal observance of rights.

1. Humility.

President Wilson, speaking for his colleagues, as well as for himself, declares that the treaty is letter perfect. It does not need change by so much as a dot or cross. It has no faults. It needs neither correction nor reservation.

What the makers of the treaty assume as to the treaty, the treaty itself assumes as to the Allies. They are morally letter perfect. The treaty, with

its covering and explanatory documents, takes the ground that its morality is higher than law—it indicts for moral offenses if legal guilt is in doubt. It suggests that the Allies are incapable of treaty-breaking or offenses against the laws of war; it asserts gratuitously that reparations follow responsibility; it refuses to admit Germany to the league because she cannot be trusted to keep treaties. In the preface to the Austrian treaty it reads homilies on faithkeeping, and goes out of its way to assign moral reasons where military reasons were actual and sufficient.

Its official exponents and defenders say explicitly that we are “incapable” of scraps of paper, air bombing, undersea fighting, oppressing weaker neutrals, acting on the law of military necessity, violating neutral territory, war atrocities, misleading propaganda, and hatred. More than one of us has not hesitated to carry his conviction in this matter to its logical end in the public declaration of belief that we are morally so superior that in the after life every German will be found in hell, and every last apache of the Allies in heaven for his merits as crusader for righteousness. One good and somewhat distinguished man, at least, has carried his logic to the point of urging that all Germans—men, women and children—should therefore be sent to their own place at once, in order to remove from the face of the earth the threat caused by unconvertible and contaminating evil. Not a few have expressed, in somewhat more timid terms, the lingering wish for a policy of real extermination.

There was a period when many thought only the German military caste beyond redemption and the German people salvable, but this was before the armistice. For the most part, we have all joined in the chorus of thanksgiving that we are not as the Germans are, or even as the very best of them.

Now, whatever may prove to be the fact at that last dread day as to the complete perdition of all our enemies, their trespasses will not prove ourselves “incapable” of trespass, if it proves, in fact, that we have trespassed. Still less does our profound conviction of incapability of error prove anything under the Christian rule save that we are mistaken and at the most fatal point of human fallibility—i. e., the conviction of perfection. This very conviction is, in the Christian teaching, itself a fundamental trespass, and under the most cynically agnostic system it is at least a revelation of mental incapacity. Christian teaching, scientific research and practical human experience have agreed that no human being is ever letter perfect. The man who thinks himself incapable of error “deceives himself, and the truth is not in him.”

As a matter of practical criticism, nothing so discredits a person or a document as this assumption of infallibility; it raises the critical presumption that there is no proper self-criticism; that the norm of criticism used is the man's own habit. The assumption of perfection in the treaty, therefore, critically speaking, throws suspicion on every conclusion of the treaty as lacking the first element of self-criticism, the recognition of possible error. The fact of sincerity in self-righteousness only throws the greater suspicion, and the sincerity of the treaty appears in the persistent recurrence of the idea of punishment, of reparation following responsibility, and of moral responsibility as higher than legal.

Having elected morality rather than victory as the basis for the treaty, it was obviously doubly incumbent on the Peace Conference, whether acting under Christian or merely common sense criteria, to begin its work with trembling, considering the sins of the Germans in the light of the question whether it likewise may be tempted and fearing to cast the first stone. Whether Christians or simply wise politicians, they should have opened with that significant clause of the Lord's prayer, "Forgive us our trespasses as we also forgive them that have trespassed against us."

It is a matter of just pride to Americans that the President's advisers did stand out at many points against the logic of this self-complacency when it entered tangible economic or juristic fields, and their protests at the Conference are open secrets, but it remains true that neither they nor we were, or are, free from an exalted sense of moral superiority, wholly unjustified by the facts as to our own trespasses.

Whatever may be said for the treaty, therefore, no one is likely to claim it is a monument of humility, an example of obedience to the teaching of Jesus Christ as to the first step in judging, "Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye," or the first step in preparation for the critical task, "considering thyself, lest thou likewise be tempted."

The bearing of this defect of moral complacency on the world outlook is, in the Christian point of view, real and momentous. From this point of view it matters little what is behind. What has happened has happened. What matters is what shall happen, and what will happen, in the Christian point of view, is that whatever nation or group of nations humbles itself will be exalted and whatever nation allows itself to be puffed up will be cast down. The end is not yet: in the last analysis, international competition is a competition in meekness. That nation which most persistently studies its own faults in order to correct them, which is least apt to throw open its guard through self-confidence, which confesses to itself its own

faults and probes these to the bottom, is on the natural and supernatural road to prosperity. The nation which remains self-complacent and arrogant is on the way to destruction.

Whatever may have been the detail of the process, there can be little doubt, under Christian theory, that the prime cause of the German downfall was pride. It may have been hard for the world to choose between the condescending impertinence of the American brand of assumption as read by self-respecting South Americans and Japanese, the studied insolence of the half-veiled British insult, and the brutal arrogance of touring and commercial travelling Germans, but most thinking Americans grew steadily through the Manila, the Zabern and the Peking incidents to the conviction that whatever might be coming to other nations, certainly Germany was riding for a fall, if humility was any gauge. Germany has had its fall, and the question whether other nations take their turn is a question of whether they humble themselves. Whoever wishes to know which way the wind is blowing may be his own prophet by hunting among the nations for the signs of meekness and national humility. That nation which first and most sincerely confesses its faults, privately and publicly, will inevitably, and by the laws of nature, lead all nations. In this fact Germany itself has still a weapon with which it may win, if it has the wit to use it. The more complacent with ourselves we are, the greater the danger is that she will. The rules "Let him that thinketh that he standeth take heed lest he fall" and "Pride goeth before a fall" are very old rules, of whose observance there is scant trace in the treaty.

2. Verity.

As humility is the beginning, so verity is the foundation of all the Christian standard: coöperation, kindness, trust, good faith, equality and the rest, including humility itself, which is verity applied to one's own shortcomings.

Verity is exact agreement between things which are intended to agree; ideas with fact, words with ideas (whether ideas of fact or ideas of intention), ideas with ideas, words with words, intentions with intentions. The operation of the human mind is a matching of ideas, and this is threefold. It matches ideas with preceding objects or facts, matches them with one another, and matches them with future objects, purposes or intended realities. It deals with facts, ideas and intentions. Right matching or exact correspondence of idea with preceding, inward or future real object is

accuracy in the case of fact, consistency in the case of ideas, and adequacy in the case of intentions or purposes. The corresponding vices are inaccuracy, inconsistency, and inadequacy. The value of a document or of a man depends on correct data, coherency, and fit, suitable or adequate provisions for realizing the intention. Incorrect data, self-contradiction and unfit provisions are alike defects, whether mere blemishes, mutilations or fatal sores. This verity, or exact agreement, is to be clearly distinguished from sincerity, which is the will to exercise verity. A document may be wholly sincere and yet in fact inaccurate, self-contradictory and inadequate. Verity is a matter of fact as to exact agreement or matching; motive is not concerned.

Human nature being what it is, this verity is, as has already been said, the basis of all human intercourse. No stable social relations are possible without it, for all such relations depend, in the last analysis, on agreement of ideas between persons, and no stable agreement of ideas (whether ideas of fact or ideas of purpose) is possible except on the basis of their common agreement with reality. The degree of stability of every agreement depends on the degree of its verity, and the stability of social relations in general on the general spirit of verity in a community. Sincerity covers a multitude of sins in the individual, but only verity preserves society from the consequences of inaccuracy, inconsistency and inadequacy. The nemesis of the matter lies in the fact that as reality is reality so disagreement is disagreement. All human disagreements, from the polite difference of opinion to actual warfare, are the result of the lack of verity; every disagreement of fact, word or intention is incipient social anarchy, and tends towards social dissolution. All the misfortunes of modern society and all the difficulties between nation and nation or man and man thus may fairly be ascribed to the lack of verity. On the other hand, and by the same token, the cure for all social ills lies, by the nature of nature and human nature, in this same verity or the spirit of exact agreement among ideas, facts, words and intentions. Social salvation and permanent peace can come only by this path, and will come by this way if followed.

In spite, however, of the fact that stable social conditions are reached only through strict verity, and in spite of the farther fact that, by the nature of the case, the larger the number of persons involved the greater is the need of utter reality, it is precisely in large scale matters of international relations—diplomacy and propaganda—that the arts of concealing facts and intentions and of misleading public opinion are most consciously and systematically practiced. While, therefore, it is true that the defects

of the present treaty are due, and in the main may be traced, to lack of verity rather than to lack of sincerity—that is, to incorrect data, self-contradiction and inadequacy, caused by ignorance, carelessness, indifference, honest self-seeking, and, above all, that arch enemy of verity, prejudice, rather than to intentional misleading—it is nevertheless true that inaccuracies, inconsistencies and inadequacies of the treaty are themselves largely the results of partisan propaganda, diplomatic secrecy and diplomatic misrepresentation before and during the war, which were anything but sincere; nor can it be denied that this same diplomatic secrecy and misleading played a certain part in the proceedings of the Conference itself and leave their trail on the documents.

All permanent agreement depends thus on verity, and the rule of verity, or of exact agreement, applied to a document, has to do with the facts on which it is based, the coherency of its ideas and the adequacy of its provisions. The present treaty has been bitterly, abundantly and sometimes justly criticised on all these counts. It is alleged to be self-contradictory, inadequate in its provisions, and founded on incorrect data.

In the matter of **consistency**, the words of Mr. Keynes, already quoted in the introduction to this memorandum, sum up the many denunciations by humanitarians, economists, critics and Germans. “Never has the substance of the treaty of peace so grossly betrayed the intentions which were said to have guided its construction as is the case with this treaty.” Examples of self-contradiction will be found under the heads of coöperation, kindness, good faith, and especially equality of rights, and a general self-contradiction between the preamble of the league covenant and the main body of the treaty is obvious. Two sample details are: (1) The principle of punishment, which confessedly pervades the treaty, is self-contradictory to the principle of coöperation, which is declared to be the purpose of the league. (2) German disarmament “in order that” the Allies might also reduce is self-contradictory to the provisions of the naval, military and air clauses tending to and resulting in increased armament.

In the matter of **adequacy**, it was vigorously asserted, at least by the American advisers, while the treaty was being framed, that some of the provisions, both legal and economic, were not suited to secure the alleged purpose of a reasonably permanent peace. It has been commonly charged, and was charged at the time, that some of these provisions—e. g., the high figures of indemnity and the trial of the Kaiser—were also in fact insincere —i. e., were fulfillments of election promises and for effect only, and not only would never come off, but were not seriously intended to come off.

The general proposition that the treaty was not well suited to secure an immediate condition of stable peace has been proved by events. To say that this failure is the result of American delay in entering the league is to throw dust in the eyes. The fact is that the treaty as a whole, all dots and crosses retained, never was well suited to secure permanent peace, universal coöperation, respect for justice, international law and open relations. The most telling indictment of the league covenant lies precisely at this point, and is the fact that it was not adequate to secure the operation of its own principles in the very treaty of which it forms a part. If its framers, with plenary power, could not put their own principles into action, who can?

Underlying both consistency of ideas and adequacy of provisions for the purpose in this matter of verity is the matter of accuracy of **facts** or correct data. Everything depends on having the facts and having them accurate. If premises are not according to fact, provisions must necessarily be contradictory and inadequate.

This problem of facts, vital to all human agreements, has three aspects: fact-finding, facing or realizing the facts, and following the facts. Lack of diligence in the finding of facts, lack of courage or willingness in facing facts, and lack of honesty or ability in following the facts all produce defects, and characteristic defects have been produced in the treaty on all counts—failure to find, to face and to follow to their logical conclusion.

Fact-finding lies at the bottom of the matter. This is recognized in all organized dealings of man with man. It is illustrated in the jury system, in the engineer's report, and, above all, in what is known as the scientific method of research. In law, in engineering, and in learning, at least, it is insisted that facts scrutinized by the most rigorous method are the basis, and the only basis, of intellectual and practical operations.

In this matter of fact-finding it must be recognized that the Conference did indeed take some very practical systematic steps to insure verity. All the Allies—and the Central powers as well, for that matter—allotted well-informed experts to the Conference, while Great Britain and America at least sent bodies of trained research workers with organized material. Our own State Department, or "House Inquiry" Commission, was an elaborate effort to secure correct data, both economic and legal, and its data were obviously used at several points. It cannot be denied, moreover, that the data of these commissions did result in definite advantage at many points. Farther than this, the Conference did send and receive all sorts of delegations from all sorts of places on all sorts of subjects, and it aggregated large masses of information and propagandist misinformation. On the other hand,

it definitely fell short, first, through neglect and increasing neglect to use the fact-finding machinery which it had provided, and especially to use it for the proper criticism of propagandist facts; second, through its failure to bring the German envoys into the discussion of the legal and economic facts, and, in general, the failure to use enemy sources of information and coöperative methods of fact-finding through cross-examination of competent, if reluctant, witnesses.

After all, however, it was not so much the failure to get facts as it was the failure to face, realize or take account of them in the provisions which make this treaty most vulnerable to the historical critic. Whether the facts were feared and dodged as standing in the way of purposes, or were merely missed or ignored from failure of mental grasp, it comes out at the same point. Certain facts which must have been within easy reach of the Conference were missed, ignored or evaded, or certain provisions would never have been inserted, or would have been inserted in other terms.

Again, it seems obvious that at some points facts must have been faced and not followed. This is the characteristic vice of the cynical, as shutting the eyes to facts is of the naive, but there is also a naive aspect of this matter which was a real factor in the defects of the treaty. This is the case where a man is aware of facts, examines them in all their aspects, accepts the fact of their leadings as a fact, and simply drops them, in all unconsciousness and good conscience, when they do not fit a plan.

On the whole, however, the treaty was anything but naive, and it drifted more and more away from open covenants, openly arrived at, to the old-fashioned secret diplomacy, secret treaties, suppression, distortion, and misrepresentation of facts—anything to secure particular ends—in short, the refusal to follow the facts or to let others follow them.

A characteristic example of the shutting of the eyes to facts which verges close on the vice of facing and dropping facts is the insistence of those who say that the fourteen points are really embodied in the treaty. A typical example of concealment and misrepresentation, shutting the eyes of others to facts—is the matter of the secret treaties, and what appeared to be the conscious and systematic effort to mislead the American public and the American representative as to the fact of those treaties and the part that they played in the provisions embodied in the treaty which was submitted to Americans through the Senate for their approval.

Detailed examples of these failures to find, to face or to follow facts will appear under the discussion of the other criteria, but it is worth while setting down here a few cases of easily accessible facts which are obviously

not taken into account in the provisions, or at least in the phraseology of the treaty.

1. That the Austrian ground for war was the breach of the solemn obligations of formal international undertakings.

2. That the Russian emperor's order to stop mobilization was disobeyed, and mobilization went on.

3. That, therefore, Germany for some days violated the sanctity of her treaty with Austria, and the Allies were urging farther violation.

4. That the reason given by the Kaiser to Austria in urging prompt action against Servia was that such action might prevent a general war.

5. That the permanent neutrality of Corfu was guaranteed as consideration to Austria, and in order to make sure that in a war against Austria forces defeated on the main land should not retire to Corfu, reorganize and return to attack on the main land.

6. That inviolability of territory, although included in the first draft of the Belgian treaty, was dropped from the final guarantee for good reasons.

These facts are disagreeable and will be to some startling, but what is the use of refusing to face them and put them on their inference? What was the use of not doing this to begin with? It was quite unnecessary to ignore them; the Germans deserved all that they got and as much financial penalty as common sense will ever try to get out of them. Why make sanctimonious pretenses, unless indeed it was to save someone's face for a time? Little by little the pretense has been taken away, and with it has disappeared the attempt to enforce many of the provisions of the treaty.

3. Good Faith.

Good faith is the voluntary keeping of one's word—whether to one's self or to another. It requires making adequate provision for carrying out an alleged purpose, not changing declared purposes lightly, and scrupulous regard for fact.

The peace conferees were, to an unusual degree, the responsible representatives of responsible governments, and it was their duty to consider first and foremost what the engagements of these governments had been—their verbal undertakings towards Christians, workingmen, Americans, Germans, neutrals, and everybody to whom they had given their word—notably the pledges to British workingmen, and the inducements to Americans and to Christians generally to enter the war to end war. The individual members of the Conference had themselves, personally, in public speeches and docu-

ments, assumed the solemn obligation of these public international undertakings. However informal these undertakings may have been, they were real, definite, and quasi-official, at the very least in the two matters of disarmament and the fourteen points.

The members of the Conference gathered, backed by the strong sentiment of majority mankind; and might easily have settled affairs at once, simply by keeping their words. It is idle to say that they could not. Who would or could have opposed them at that exultant moment of world history if they had applied the Christian principles which they proclaim in the preamble instead of the principles of hatred, might, legitimate national aspirations, and secret give-and-take? It will be answered that legitimate national aspirations would have opposed any attempt to apply the ten commandments, British and French voters, any recognition of German insolvency and good haters, everywhere, anything which savored of coöperation with or kindness to the Germans, but this is contrary to the evidence, which goes to show that the vast majority of workingmen, Christians and other Americans would, if the Conference had taken resolute hold of its business in the light of its premises, calling a spade a spade and hatred hatred, taking practical steps for disarmament, using rational human methods of penology in their treatment of the Germans, have overwhelmingly backed the Conference.

All the history of war propaganda had gone to show that nothing could command action so effectively in those times as the appeals for war to end war, rights of the weak, making the world safe for democracy, no annexations, and the like. If the Conference had chosen it could have ended war, started real economic coöperation, made the world safe in general for every humblest man to enjoy his rights in. They could not, of course, have regenerated every man or nation in an instant, nor made police force unnecessary, but they could have established world law and order immediately—simply by keeping faith. The supreme defect of the treaty is that it does not keep faith with that large part of mankind which paid high consideration in blood and money for the promise to end war.

The two obvious defects at this point are in the matters of disarmament and of the fourteen points. The peace treaty was itself a treaty to end the war to end war; disarmament was, by virtue of pledges, its first concern. It does in fact, apparently, actually incorporate a formal undertaking with Germany to do so by making the ground of Germany's agreement strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses "in order to render possible the initiation of the disarmament of all nations." Failure to do this is, therefore, apparently a breach of good faith with the enemy, so far as Germany

has performed the considerations named in these clauses. However that may be, it was a breach of faith at least with the American people. In this vicinity, at least, the constant and reiterated promise was that the war to end Prussian militarism should end militarism; that this war should end war. The American delegation at the Conference did, in fact, stand out for the sinking instead of the dividing of the surrendered war vessels, and it tried, in this respect at least, to redeem the pledge to humanity, and, what is much to the point of future events, a vast number of rank and file typical public school Americans sat up and took note of what their delegates had urged and what really happened. What was actually done was to divide up surrendered material and add to the Allied armament. What is one to think of a treaty which foams at the mouth over breaches of treaties and of international law, which preaches the solemn obligation of international undertakings, which refuses to take Germany into the league because its good faith in observing treaties cannot be trusted, which boasts itself of being incapable of these things, which imposes disarmament in order that it may be able to disarm, and which so far fails to keep its own word or its own promises as to disarmament as to divide up the arms laid down and add to its own armament?

Again, the minimum common demands of human society as its consideration for the highest effort to win the war were summed by Woodrow Wilson and voiced in the fourteen points. These were a mere codification of reiterated promises, on which men had acted in good faith in entering the war—self-determination, democracy, the rights of neutrals, and the rest. These were recognized by Mr. Balfour and others as a true code of public opinion. They were approved, with one or two very slight reservations, officially, by representatives of all the Chancelleries as an actual platform; they were officially recognized in the armistice. Good faith called for making these the starting point and background of all, whereas, in fact, they were forgotten or ignored in the Conference. It is the general and repeated testimony of participants that they were seldom referred to, and never seriously considered as a working basis—by a Conference which proclaims the sacred obligations of solemn undertakings!

This sort of thing seems to be so much a matter of course to experienced diplomacy that the diplomats wonder why the Americans make such a fuss about the matter and rebuke their innocent ignorance of practical diplomatic methods, their “idealism,” and their “pacifism.” Until diplomats learn that good faith is the only practical method of stable human relations, this world mess will infallibly continue.

4. Trust.

Trust is the counterpart of good faith. Social relations are all based on judgment of how far the other man can be trusted—i. e., how likely he is to keep faith. The credit system in business works, in spite of swindlers, in any country which is trained to trust and be trusted, and the parole system works even among criminals, if they are not too far gone. On the other hand, it is notorious that good workingmen, good servants and good college students may be spoiled if reliance is had on watching instead of trusting. With all these distrust is a challenge. Watching is an invitation to over-reaching. No family, school, factory or army, where watching replaces trust, can compare with one which can be trusted, and the habit of trustworthiness is gained only by practice.

In this regard the treaty is explicitly founded on the principle that our late enemies are too hardened to be trusted even on probation. For this reason they are excluded from the league, extraordinary provisions of disarmament made, and extraordinary precautions of occupation and armament taken by those who profess in the same breath disarmament and coöperation. This is wholly contrary to the spirit of the best criminology. Only trust will develop trustworthiness.

The fact that faith between God and men is made up of trust and good faith is reflected in the social fact, and the development of social good faith depends on the exercise of trust and good faith on both sides; distrust is the seed of disagreement.

5. Coöperation.

The twin principles of coöperation and kindness make up Christian love, and Christian principles call for the unqualified love even of enemies, forgiving them seventy times seven, doing them good, at least after war is over, and praying for them at all times.

This right to love one's enemies is secured to Americans under the religious provisions of the Constitution, and the exercise of this right is, in any far-sighted view, the very highest exercise of national patriotism. Nevertheless the exercise of this constitutional right and wise patriotism has been and is very generally denied to Christians by violent and short-sighted patriots, to whom vengeance is more than correction and their own ideas more than the Constitution, so that it is still almost impossible to express

publicly the will to coöperate with and be kind to our late enemies, without real persecution. To feel anything but hatred is to be "pro-German."

As for the treaty, it starts out bravely. Coöperation is placed at the very forefront of the whole treaty as the purpose of the league, and coöperation is love in activity as kindness is the state and feeling of love. Here is surely the beginning of a golden age, for coöperation is the secret of human progress. It rests upon the fact that two persons working together can produce more than both of them working separately. Real, universal, persistent coöperation in all directions of all the persons involved in the treaty could stop war instantly (though not the use of police force), and so multiply the production of goods that the losses of war would be reduced to insignificance in the abundance of goods produced. There is nothing ideal or impracticable about this, except for hatred and national covetousness.

As a matter of fact, international waste and the destruction of war has not stopped, nor has international coöperation for production developed to any great extent, and the fault for this lies directly at the door of the Peace Conference in not itself practicing or promoting genuine coöperation.

The first and most obvious failure in coöperation was the failure to make use of coöperative thinking in preparing the treaty, and there are several counts to this indictment: (1) the exclusion of the American Senate from its right to a share in the thinking, (2) the exclusion of the enemy from the discussion, (3) the exclusion of the public from the discussion—in the last analysis probably the most serious failure of all—and (4) the gradual exclusion of members of the Conference and the reduction of the collaborative thinkers to four.

The second obvious failure to promote coöperation was the failure to introduce the ex-enemy into the league at once. The third great failure was the adjustment of penalties and reparations, not with reference to a coöperative world production for a maximum output, but in such a way as to hamper the production of the ex-enemy in the things it can do best, and for fear that it will again become strong enough to compete.

A farther, if less obvious, failure to promote coöperation is the narrow outlook on the labor problem as a matter of amelioration of physical conditions rather than of the observance of rights. Workingmen, in the sense of the workingmen's movement, do not want to be ameliorated; they want their rights. Many of them, to be sure, are sadly mistaken as to what their rights are and what their real welfare demands, but the movement is, in fact, a world social movement of coöperation—coöperative in its own methods, and aiming at the adjustment of a coöperative share in the products

on the basis of a revised share in the surplus produced by coöperation. Of course, the mere attempting to deal with the problem was a constructive gain, for which the Conference deserves credit.

The greatest and fatal defect of the treaty in the matter of coöperation lies, however, at the heart of coöperation, which is the spirit of agreement, likemindedness, consciousness of kind, or kinship.

6. Kindness.

Kindness as a practical standard of criticism has several aspects; first, kinship, or the brotherhood of man; second, likemindedness, or consciousness of kind—i. e., having the same ideas so that men react in the same way to the same stimuli and assure thus agreement as to the objects of coöperative effort; third, the will to like and to be liked, which produces actual likemindedness, and which is in the ordinary common speech kindness or kindheartedness—the instinctive picking out of likable things to be liked.

The opposite of all this is hatred or the will to unkindness, disagreement, dislike, and all these spell anarchism, disorganization and death. In the treaty the dominant motive is punishment, reparation, repression, suspicion. It shows few signs of kindness in any sense, and by this token it is anti-coöperative and leads to disorganization.

Without kindness human society cannot exist. The success of society, both in production of goods and in the enjoyment of goods, is, by the inevitable order of nature or the will of God, dependent on the amount of kindness, kinship, likemindedness, consciousness of kind—in short, simple agreement. The treaty seems thus conspicuously lacking in the chief element for enlisting that human coöperation which it professes to seek. It was a supreme opportunity to promote human coöperation by kindness, by the vigorous effort to like and to be liked, and there is no defect in the treaty so conspicuous as the absence of this kindness.

Showing mercy is an aspect of kindness; it is based on humility, on the feeling that all are liable to be tempted. In the Christian system this is fundamental because to those who show no mercy no mercy will be shown. It makes little difference, under the divine order, whether unmercifulness was preceded by greater unmercifulness or not; the lack of mercy is fatal, and the treaty conspicuously lacks mercy.

7. Equality.

Justice, in the sense of the equal observance of rights, is the crux of social existence. It is, moreover, the evidence of the existence of love, good faith and kindness in any man. All profession of these principles is humbug unless a man observes the rights of others as his own. Every man is keen about his own rights. Justice, indeed, means to most getting one's rights or one's just due. Justice, in the Christian sense, means rather doing justice, giving just due, observing the rights of others, but justice means justice, exact equality—scales not dropping either way—a measure full to the brim, but not slopping over, and every man's duty to see the other man's portion equal to his own, the other man's right in whatever pair of like circumstances equally observed with his own.

Justice is proclaimed in the preamble to the covenant, and punitive justice, preventive justice and reparation are spread all over the face of the treaty, but there is very little sign anywhere of that aspect of justice, in the Christian and equitable sense, which finds the whole matter on equality before the law, or the equal observance of rights—the idea that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and makes its first inquiry as to fact and rights before inquiring whose ox it is that is gored.

In this point of view law and Christianity are agreed. If one party to a contract breaks it, he cannot punish or claim reparation from the party of the other part. In Christian teaching one must first consider himself before throwing stones, or, as the popular saying has it, "People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones." Christian teaching pushes this to the ultimate—"Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?" Nothing is more common in ordinary social life than criticism of others for faults which the critics obviously and notoriously have themselves. This, however, is not to be expected of a serious public document, and a very first consideration of the framers of this treaty, from the point of view of equal observance of rights, should have been to look over the ground carefully and see to what end their own principles would lead them if applied to themselves equally with the enemy.

Of course, it must be recognized that the rights of a defeated enemy are few; they are established mainly under the conventional rights of warfare which limit punishment to some extent and by humane public opinion, but they begin rapidly to be re-established as soon as fighting stops and to be recorded in various ways. In this case re-establishment began with the

armistice and its preliminaries, continued through the steps of the negotiations, and are found especially in whatever provisions of the treaty are for the benefit of the late enemy. These are few, but, so far as they exist in any degree, are equally rights with any of the others—Germany, Austria, Turkey or Bulgaria, as the case may be, being one of the contracting parties, “The party of the other part.”

Farther than this, and most significantly, at many points throughout the treaty, notably in the preamble and in part VII, the framers have rather gone out of their way to insert phraseology which gives, morally if not legally reciprocal rights by stressing the unlawfulness of enemy conduct under given circumstances. Finally, the treaty, by laying down international law as the actual rule of conduct and laying special stress on the keeping of treaties, creates a considerable body of actual law, under which Germany, Austria, etc., have equal right to claim observance, and, if the claim is not met, to allege violation of the treaty.

This situation, where justice has been put at the forefront in substitution for a conqueror's right, where international law is made the actual rule of conduct, the violation of treaties the supreme offense, and equal obligation to observe rights acknowledged and made a part of the contract, is unique in the history of peace treaties and creates a unique document with some unexpected dilemmas.

In the first place, this situation puts the enemy in position, after the treaty has been signed, to require the fulfillment of whatever is favorable to them and is contained in the treaty—e. g., general disarmament, also through the trial of the Kaiser to spread their case on the records, if they so desire, and to plead this case, or any part of their case, as if action according to international law were actual justification for the act. If this were actually done it would lead to some unexpected results, for in the tithing of mint and cummin in matters of international law the Germans were characteristically exact, and many weightier matters follow in the same direction if strict legality under international law, including that established by the maxims of this treaty, is granted. If it is not done the Germans can claim any penalty which the treaty assesses against breaking of treaties and the solemn obligations of international undertakings.

Under these circumstances the most comprehensive lack of the treaty in the matter of observance of rights is the refusal to admit the Germans to the Conference, in which their case at several points was judged, penalties assessed and even public confession required in matters on which they had entered plea of innocence. It is true that in the matter of guilt of the

Kaiser and the war offenders the Conference acted only as grand jury, and promised to provide the usual safeguards, but on the main counts no possibility of innocence is admitted by the Conference. Since the ordinary rights of man, accorded to the worst criminal caught in the flagrant act, are the right to counsel, the introduction of evidence, cross-examination and record, and since these are the normal safeguards of justice itself, being the right of the community, as well as of the criminal, the denial of these to anyone, especially to anyone convinced in his own mind that he is not guilty, is a lapse in justice. All lynch law is a sin against the community, as well as against the individual lynched. To declare guilty, to punish, and to extort confession from a man who professes innocence without granting a hearing is, by the nature of human rights, itself an injustice—a failure to observe rights, whether the man is innocent or guilty. Under municipal law every modern man has his right to his day in court, and under international law, as the actual rule of conduct, every modern nation has its similar right to a day in court. Even under the code of victory a treaty has no right to declare guilt, assess punishment, or, above all, extort confession on any specific ground not that of victory. Still less has it any right, having set up the canons of justice and law, to violate them. In this particular case the offense against justice is flagrant because the safeguard of publicity, free public discussion and presentation to the public conscience—i. e., “the bar of public opinion”—was wholly closed to the defendants. During the war, for strategic reasons, and before we entered the war, as well as a long time after the armistice, for reasons of human nature, one could hardly venture to mention, even in a committee like this, and as a matter of professional documentary criticism, even a well-evidenced documentary fact favorable to the German case in any detail, without certainty of some degree of persecution. This created the actual situation under which the Conference passed its judgment, and should have made the Conference itself all the more careful, for its own sake, to leave no stone unturned to give the devil his due, for all injustice has its nemesis, as the treaty and the world today is finding. It is a capital defect of the treaty, too, that it proceeded without the discussion of these matters, whatever the issue. One rather wonders that, if the Germans were so convinced of their case as they profess to be, the Kaiser did not take the opportunity of getting their case on record through his trial, under proper safeguards, by surrendering rather than fighting extradition. It seems to throw doubt, either on the sincerity of the plea of innocence or on sportsmanship, to have avoided the risk involved.

Another curious dilemma in the matter of equality of rights is offered by

this same picturesque fiasco, the trial of the Kaiser. The treaty indicts for a moral offense, and why? Because, as Mr. Lansing explains, it was doubtful if he could be convicted of legal offense. But if law is the actual rule of conduct, and he acted within the law, what is the point of trying him? It is true, of course, that the treaty does not mean "moral" in the ethical sense exactly; that is, in the sense of moral law, natural law, higher law or divine law, in the sense recognized in the older treatises on international law, but disclaimed by the modern text-books. It is a highly technical quasi-legal point of precedent for the punishment of a responsible ruler who makes war on frivolous and false pretenses; nevertheless, this gives him the right to plead the whole case under all the safeguards of law which were denied in the formation of the treaty, and, what is more, to get his whole case on record under the established maxims of the treaty itself after it had been erected into a law which to break would be a supreme offense. In this situation he is allowed to plead legal conduct under international law as legal justification, and this would itself be answer to the charge of frivolity or pretext. It would allow him, moreover, to show that in his secret correspondence with Austria he had himself urged Austria to proceed at once against Servia for the renewed breach of the solemn obligation of an international undertaking, because, if done promptly, a general war might be avoided. It would permit him, farther, to spread on the record the fact that under international law, regarded as the actual rule of conduct, the quarrel was, in fact, one between two independent sovereign powers, and that the repeated recognition and assertion of the independent sovereignty of Servia by all the Allied powers while urging Austria not to violate this seems to establish beyond dispute the right of Austria, under international law as then existing, to be her own judge as to what degree of offense made war necessary. It would allow, still farther, the pleading of a breach of the international undertaking as a supreme offense and the acknowledged justification for war. All this, of course, begs many other questions, but the gratuitous offering of justice, with international law and the breach of treaties a supreme offense in a form erected into law by the signing of the treaty, puts the matter in a self-contradictory position, at least. The American delegation is to be congratulated on having at least stood out against the legal indictment, which was trebly unsound, while the moral indictment was probably sound, if pretext should be proved.

Again, in the matter of war offenders, there were also, of course, Allied offenses against the laws of warfare. Granted that these were only one per cent. of German offenses, still many of us have heard British officers boast-

ing of atrocities, private reprisals, and sometimes on a large and surreptitious scale, contrary not only to the laws of warfare in general, but even to military instructions, general and particular. Some of these are hinted at or plainly stated in print. Granted that these were mere boasts or propaganda (and they were very poor propaganda, in fact, with some American audiences), and that they were more or less guarded by attributing to hearsay, still the speakers intended to imply, when they did not allege, such repeated acts.

Another matter of the same sort is the newspaper and club stories of the strategy of the anti-submarine fleet. If half these stories were true, many professions of the treaty will be farcical. If a submarine which approached a derelict in order to rescue a woman walking the deck with a baby in her arms was really sunk by throwing into it a bomb dressed up as a baby, it was at least a near atrocity, and, like other boasts, seems to call for investigation before prosecution of enemies for similar offenses against humanity.

Once more, in the matter of the violation of neutral territory. It is true that the Germans themselves acknowledge that the violation of Belgian territory was contrary to international law, as it was contrary to humanity and the universal sentiment of mankind, but it, nevertheless, belongs to international procedure, recognized and approved in the Allied text-books of international law, published just before the war. The doctrine is here set forth in detail, and it requires of the violating party acknowledgment, apology and reparation for the violation, all of which the German Chancellor promised. This text-book doctrine was also practiced by the Allies at least half a dozen times during the war. Therefore their first care should have been proper reparation to China, Greece, and the rest, if equal observance means anything, and reparation for Belgium is in the formal contract.

It will, of course, be said as to the violation of Belgium, as it has been said so often, that the supreme offense in the Belgian matter was not the violation of territory under war necessity as recognized in the international law text-books, but the violation of guarantees, the "scrap of paper." But was not Corfu's perpetual neutrality guaranteed? Does the treaty make any provision for reparation to Austria for injury to her caused by those troops who, defeated on the main land, retired to Corfu and returning made the first breach in the Allied lines? Moreover, apart from the fact that the scrap of paper itself possibly had no reference whatever to this treaty, and certainly did not refer to a breach by Germany of this or any treaty, but on its face could only have applied directly to a different treaty in which Germany had no share, is it not at least true that temporary violation of terri-

tory had been carefully distinguished in the London Conference from permanent neutrality, and the phrase, after having been included in several drafts, dropped out of the final guarantee?

As for breaches of international law in general, who pretends, outside the treaty, that the Allies recognized the international law rights of neutrals? There were some librarians, at least, who, when their books, contrary to international law as understood at the beginning of the war, were held up in neutral ports, taken out of the mails in transition and alleged by hearsay to have been seen for sale in London second-hand shops, were nauseated by the clouds of incense raised to Allied self-righteousness in matters of international law, and when they were themselves invited to buy this same class of books, forbidden to them by foreign powers, from Allied dealers, who had them and no trouble in getting them, had hard work to forget the injury long enough to realize how bad the Germans were in matters of international law. The matter took on a still farther sardonic flavor when it proved that books so forbidden were books on international law! Even now one hardly likes to venture, even in this committee, to speak of some of the obvious breaches of international law on the part of the Allies. Justice and equal observance required that the Conference should search all these allegations out, face the matters plainly in the spirit of uncompromising verity, follow them to their logical end before charging others with the same faults —first, the beam.

It is not worth while to multiply details for this committee. These illustrations are plain enough and radical enough to show how little the treaty regards the principle of the gored ox, of living in glass houses, and of its own preamble. It is hardly too much to say that if the voluntary statements of the treaty about justice and international law—noble in themselves, but ineptuous and unnecessary under the actual situation—were pushed to their logical end they would actually require reparation from the Allies to their defeated enemies, save for a special provision to the contrary in the treaty! If violation of the solemn obligation of an international undertaking is a supreme offense, and international law the actual rule, responsibility was with those who interfered with lawful action, and reparation follows responsibility! Is this a reduction to the absurd—or isn't it? It is at least itself a conundrum in the matter of equal observance.

Conclusion.

Altogether, the treaty has not and cannot produce permanent peace: it is unjust, unkind, unmerciful, self-contradictory, inadequate, faithless; but it

is not altogether insincere, and in the matter of the league covenant it registers a supreme purpose and furnishes an imperfect but promising sketch for concrete realization which has already been put into effect in the league, whose functioning has been of some concrete use, in spite of the failure of those who signed the treaty to make it as real as they might. Possibly, at bottom, the most serious arraignment of the treaty is its failure to execute itself in this matter of the league, the realization of which lies wholly within its power—i. e., the power of those who have accepted the treaty. This failure is itself, therefore, a violation of treaties and of the solemn obligation of international undertakings.

We meet again, therefore, the original trouble of the introduction—a faulty but yet good plan, with splendid aims and tolerable method, but without enabling power. Where it might, and would, do great good, it makes only a rather pathetic bluff at doing something—so far. What is needed is not so much a new league as something to put life into this—life enough to slough off its faults and dead matter, to grow and to function effectively. We are forced again, therefore, to turn to the only surviving solution—a Christian league.

IV.

A Christian League.

What, then, does a Christian league call for, and how would its covenant differ from the present covenant?

The answer to this may be given offhand; it would differ little in principle from the preamble of the covenant. The chief difference would be in provisions to make these principles effective, and even here the covenant is a good basis for a constitutional convention. The Christianity of the matter would have very little concern about the details anyway, provided they pushed the alleged principles to the ultimate and arranged for their effective application.

What, then, will be characteristic of this league and the steps to its realization?

(1) It will be the result of coöperative thinking.

This is fundamental, and the responsibility of this committee begins at this point. The contribution which any one man, or even a committee like this, can expect to make to such a question is at best a small one. So far-

reaching a matter, with so many distinct interests, national, economic and religious, thought of in so many languages, involves far-reaching contributions, and from those familiar with each aspect of the far-reaching elements. Nevertheless, in such a matter each one may hope to make some contribution, and a committee like this, with its broad preliminary studies on the psychological situation, the industrial question, foreign missions, church unity, and the method of promoting all in education, may, without pretension, feel itself in position to make some real, if small, contribution to the Christian aspects of the matter.

Many such contributions have already been made. The annotated list of books and articles sent to members of the committee with this memorandum is only a sample of the earlier discussion. Add to these titles the discussions of the leagues for promoting the league, the discussion in the Senate, and the newspaper discussions of the present political campaign, and it makes an appalling total for thinking society to digest; but the fact of this mass is perhaps the most hopeful of all straws for a real league. In human thinking, as in all other forms of organic life, the law of survival works through a vast multiplication, accompanied by continuous natural selection of the most favorable variations. It is, therefore, by incessant continuing of this process that real results will be produced.

As this is the very liveliest factor in the world outlook at the present time and inseparably bound up with the religious outlook, it would seem a duty, which this committee cannot well neglect, to attempt some contribution in the field of co-operative thinking.

(2) **It will be a league of all nations, not a league of Christian nations.**

This implies, first, that it will be a league of all, not a few, nations; second, that it will be a political, not a religious or ecclesiastical, league; and third, that it will provide real and absolute religious toleration.

To begin with, then, it will be a league of all nations, not a league of a few nations, still less of a few Christian nations. It will be a league of all those nations which are willing to work together in the spirit of kindness, good faith and equal rights, keeping the peace, and interfering with no one who keeps within the boundaries of his own sovereign person—that is, his rights: it will be a league of all nations, every race, and tongue, and tribe, and people, of every religion which holds to truth. Such a league organized becomes an organic being, of which Jesus Christ is, in fact, head and spirit, even if this headship is not realized, but it will not be limited to Christian or religious nations.

This does not by any means imply, however, that every nation will be admitted at once, but only that every sane, competent and mature nation will be allowed to join if it will.

In the second place, this implies that it will be a political, not a religious or an ecclesiastical, league; it will contain Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, Buddhists, Confucians, and the rest, but it will contain also agnostic and pagan nations, if there be such, and certainly it will be based on sovereign individuals, many of whom are agnostic, but who follow the truth in the meaning of the object of the league.

It follows that it will not be an ecclesiastical league or church—at least, until it has produced a very different world through its coöperation in the spirit of kindness, although its vigorous operation along these lines will inevitably tend to produce such likemindedness in the truth that all men, without any proseliting effort, will inevitably find themselves accepting the fact that Jesus Christ was indeed the mind or will of God incarnate, and that they are, in fact, trying to have his will done on earth as it is in heaven. It will, therefore, be a universal Christian church, ready for Jesus Christ to take the headship, but whether its president at that time will be the pope or a layman is a matter of detail, on which every man can meantime look with detachment as a question of fact not yet arrived at, and for which everyone may work in his own way, provided he works within his rights.

In the third place, such a league will provide real and absolute religious toleration. Its cornerstone will be the equal right of every man to worship the one God in his own way; or, if he so elect, to refuse to worship; and of every man to hold his own ideas of truth, so long as he does not intrude on the rights of others to hold their own ideas of truth.

It will, therefore, make careful provisions for such toleration. These will include provision to make the world safe for those whose religion requires them to love their enemies, safe to feed and clothe enemies after they have been defeated and their women and children before they have been defeated, safe to believe and even to mention facts which are not conducive to the promotion of hatred, safe to obey the Constitution of one's country and to protest against those who violate it in the name of patriotism, safe to call the loudest patriotism treason when it is treason, safe to denounce conspiracy of any American with any nation on any ground against American national interests as treason, safe to tell the truth and shame the devil on any and all occasions. Making the world safe for religion involves all this, but especially it involves the right to tell the truth and have the truth told. Toleration in religion implies, above all things, the toleration of truth-seeking and truth-telling.

(3) It will be founded on the sovereignty of the individual, and will not, therefore, be a league of governments.

This is pure democracy, as well as pure Christianity, and is the ordinary accepted American doctrine as to the actual government residing in the individual—every citizen a sovereign, not a subject. This doctrine, although of late slighted and laughed at a bit, has had a ringing assertion in Woodrow Wilson's phrase about making the world safe for democracy. By the nature of the human spirit, things cannot be safe and settled until the fundamental right of individual self-sovereignty, the right to mind his own internal affairs without any interference whatever from without, unless he himself goes outside to interfere with others, is observed by man as it is by God himself.

This seemingly theoretical matter actually lies at the base of the whole problem, and is one of the great practical difficulties in the way of a political league, since men who are accustomed to think of themselves as "sovereigns" and men in the habit of thinking of themselves as "subjects" have a radically different point of view. This situation is the problem of democracy and has wrapped up in itself the whole history of theological controversy over free-will and the whole history of revolution and violence since the world began. It is the key to the proletarian revolution of today. For the practical purposes of the league, theoretical conditions are covered by the fact that in those nations which still make a distinction between ruler and subject the individual exercises his freedom in the fact that he is quite free to choose a subject's condition on terms which make overlordship nominal, or to emigrate; but a stable league of nations must, if it is to meet the order of nature half way and absorb the proletarian support, be not a league of governments, but a league democratic to the last individual, and all its provisions made with an eye to the equal sovereignty of the individual—not merely his equal rights to protection, a fair share in the goods produced, to freedom of worship, and the rest, but to a share in the coöperative thinking which produces the very plans for coöperation and directs their carrying out—in short, an equal vote in government.

Constructively speaking, a Christian league begins at this point. It is first, last and always democratic, with profound regard for the rights of every individual, and supreme regard for the rights of the weakest. A Christian league is a league of sovereigns, not subjects, except in so far as they exercise their sovereign right in choosing to be subjects, whether to a king or a King of Kings.

The Christian system, however, recognizes this self-sovereignty of the individual, with its right to freedom from external control and a share in the administration of common interests, only when such sovereignty actually exists, and here is the crux of democracy and of Christianity. Only self-ruling men, able to keep themselves from interfering with the rights of others and competent to administer common interests, are entitled to the franchise. The political and individual analogies are here very close. Political franchise is never given under any system to everybody; it is only given to the competent. A man or woman must have acquired some degree of maturity, be sane, unconvicted of crime, etc., in order to enjoy the vote.

A Christian league will, therefore, press this point of self-sovereignty to its extreme. The sovereign individual, whether man or state, must so control his own affairs that they do not fall into such disorder as to threaten the peace of neighboring individuals. Farther than this, it will apply and push to the ultimate all those principles recognized under the law of civilized states today as to the care of those who are not fully competent to control their own internal affairs or conduct relations with other individuals or nations, i. e., minor, incompetent, bankrupt, spendthrift, defective, insane and dependent individuals or nations, and it will apply these with the full background of all the Christian teaching that every man is his brother's keeper, and owes mercy, forgiveness and care, considering how he would like to be treated if in like circumstances. This will be a revolution, no doubt, in the treatment of dependent people, but it is absolutely necessary for a permanent working league. The safeguard of its practical application will lie in the fact that the final appeal will be, not to governments, but to the individual sovereign persons who make up common humanity and who can be trusted in bulk to treat with kindness, because kindness lies truly in that degree of likemindedness which is common to every individual born into the world.

4) It will be a league of strongly individualized nations.

The fear that a league will weaken patriotism and national efficiency has been a real obstacle to an effective league. This fear has some justification in the current way of talking about the brotherhood of man, the erasing of national boundaries, but this talk thinks of the matter in terms which are contrary to the natural laws of organic life and contrary to the Christian idea of world unity as a highly organized state, for it is the uni-cellular idea. In organic life the higher the organism the greater the differentiation, not only in the number of subdivisions, each exercising its own aptitude, but in

the definiteness of the individual members. The greater the definiteness of the individual the stronger the organism is, and conversely. So, the stronger the nationality the stronger the league will be, and the stronger the league the more definite the nationality. A Christian league of nations will not be a jellyfish or a bag of marbles; it will follow the laws of nature. The point is, of course, the familiar point in political history of centralization and local self-government, of federal and state rights, and political experience corresponds with biological experience. It is not the highly centralized government, with direct action between the remotest individuals and the head, in all matters, which makes the strongest government, but one where each subdivision attends for itself to all matters which are of direct concern to it and not to other groups. This local self-sovereignty, pushed to the utmost all the way down through states, provinces, counties, cities, to the individual, is the only really democratic idea, and the only one which corresponds to the laws of nature. Social likemindedness is the ground, and the right of groups who are likeminded in any matter to decide this matter for themselves, without external interference, provided it does not interfere with equal rights of other groups, is almost as fundamental as individual self-sovereignty and national self-sovereignty. This has two interesting illustrations in modern political life. When Italy became united the question was very acute, but the die fell for centralized government. Many modern Italians are almost bitter over the result, which allows minute local problems to be settled from Rome, and believe strongly that if the trend had been given toward the American system of emphasizing local self-government, Italian prosperity would have been multiplied. Again, the recent history of the British empire has shown how the policy of encouraging this trend, almost to the point of complete independence (and notwithstanding its failure to apply the principle as logically near home), has tended to strengthen the empire. The modern form of the question is found in the term "self-determination," which is only another phrase of the groping political mind in its effort to apply nature's organic law in the larger social organism.

(5) **Its object will be to insure permanent peace and freedom by applying the principles of coöperation, kindness, good faith, trust and equality.**

This is, of course, only the re-phrasing of the preamble to the present league in a more systematic and definitely Christian form, if not in Christian phraseology.

(6) Its prime motive will be coöperation in the production of goods.

This is the prime object under the present covenant, which adds also "to achieve international peace and security." Peace, security, and, above all, freedom, which includes the rest, are, however, the inevitable corrolary of the spirit of coöperation. They rest on or are bound up with and flow from the agreement to work together for a common object, which is coöperation.

The production of goods includes, on the one hand, material, tangible, economic or physical goods, and on the other hand, immaterial, intangible, spiritual or intellectual goods. Tangible goods include food, drink, clothing, shelter, and many lesser goods. Immortal goods are, in brief, ideas or brain products, and include or involve art, literature, science, recreation, leisure, education, and social intercourse or conversation with lower living things, with fellow-men, and with the superhuman.

A Christian league will put the production of immaterial goods first on the principle "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and all necessary economic goods will be multiplied unto you." It will begin its task, therefore, by promoting the production of ideas in individual persons, especially in the education of minors up to the point of intellectual majority and the education of illiterate nations up to the point of literacy. The reason for this lies in the fact that the makeup of human personality is such that the multiplication, nourishment and care of ideas is the fundamental coöperative social task, whether in the family or in the family of nations. It is, therefore, a fundamental right of minors not merely to enjoy education, but to have it thrust upon them until they have reached maturity and are able to judge for themselves what is best for them, or have gained the sovereign right of choosing the worse. This will apply to nations, as it does to individuals, far enough beyond the mere ability to read and write to ensure that the fundamental principles of rights under social intercourse and the elementary rules which govern economic production are understood, at least to the point of furnishing an alphabet or vocabulary for use in self-education.

A Christian league will not, however, neglect economic production up to the point of providing all necessities and, when more important immaterial matters have been provided for, the multiplication of conveniences and luxuries in such abundance that every sovereign individual shall have a share commensurate with his willingness to work for it.

In all production, material and immaterial, the simple fundamental law that wherever two can work together in such way that each may use his aptitude to the best advantage—i. e., each do what he can do best—produc-

tion will be multiplied beyond what both can do individually, and the wider the coöperation the more rapid the multiplication.

The application of this principle to national aptitudes on a large scale, providing for the adjustment of the production of raw materials, labor and skill through the means of transportation so that every nation shall produce its maximum, seems to be the inevitable trend and only possible solution of the economic situation if permanent freedom and peace are to be enjoyed and each individual provided with the maximum of goods. It is more or less what the unorganized efforts of world commerce have been providing for through great corporations, and is like what was done during the war, from the standpoint of war necessities, on a large enough scale to suggest its unlimited possibilities under conditions of peace.

(7) **The task of coöperation will be carried out under the dominant principle of kindness—**

Both in the sense of likemindedness, agreement, consciousness of kind, and in the generalized sense of all this, which is ordinary kindness. It will apply, therefore, all the principles of love of enemies, mercy, forgiveness, toleration, patience, and the rest. It will provide forgiveness seventy times seven for every well-disposed nation or individual struggling in good faith to fulfill the purpose of the league, while making it clear to all ill-disposed persons, individual or collective, willfully injuring even the weakest, and more especially the weakest, that mercy belongs only to those who show mercy, and that for him who is not kind or humane to the weak it would be better that a mill stone were hanged about his neck and he were drowned in the depths of the sea.

It will, more specifically, make the most thorough provision for the machinery of agreement and conciliation, based on the Christian principle of liking and being liked, welcoming kindness and showing kindness, seeking out and appropriating the valuable and permanent in every thing or person, and discarding, ignoring, scrapping the rest. It will provide for arbitration, with mercy and forgiveness; it will provide for complete amnesty, forgiveness, and resumption of coöperation as soon as an enemy ceases to be an enemy, and will provide for complete resumption of trade and social intercourse as soon as fighting ceases, not without just penalties, but wholly without hindrance to complete participation of the late foe, both in the work and in the products, especially the super products, of coöperation.

(8) The matter of good faith and trust

will be promoted by making the most careful safeguards against secrecy and misrepresentation in social matters. This is the open, just and honorable relations to which the present treaty refers, applied in individual affairs so as to make the world safe for the individual to trust another individual, and, more especially, even in public relations with other nations, since, under the principle of democracy, every individual has a right to knowledge in the sense of one who has a real and active share in government. The greatest promoter of good faith and trust is the free press and free speech.

(9) The matter of equal observance of rights

will be safeguarded as being the very germ and essence of that freedom which is the object of the league. Where the self-sovereignty of the individual is exercised only on his own inward affairs, or when it is exercised on external affairs, but operates only within the boundaries of rights, observing carefully the boundaries of other men's rights, this is the state of public peace. All breach-of the peace is a breach of rights. It is the interference with rights which disturbs the peace. The absolute observance of rights is the state of absolute peace. A Christian league of nations will, therefore, safeguard this as the essence and touchstone of the problem of peace and freedom.

In its Christian aspect such a league will provide especially that the very humblest and weakest individual or nation shall have his or its rights observed equally well with those of the strongest, and with a certain touch at least of the principle of **noblesse oblige**, or Christian charity, so that the poor and weak get more than the share proportionate to their contribution to society, rather than less.

It will farther, specifically and especially, provide for all those whose ability to share in the products and profits of coöperation is limited, whether by their own fault or fault of society, to what they can produce by their hands from day to day, and whose power to defend themselves and assert their rights individually is small, so that they shall have every facility for claiming their rights that is enjoyed by those who have wealth to pay for help in asserting their rights.

It will, in short, aim, by all means and at all times, to have the law that each man has the same right to his rights, whatever they are, as every other man, observed absolutely. This is indeed the millennium, and it is certainly a synonym of freedom and permanent peace.

(10) It will provide adequate machinery to make effective all these principles of coöperation, kindness, good faith and equal observance.

This carries back to the starting point of the introduction, where it was recognized that men generally accept these principles and acknowledge that they should be put into force, but they do not do them. The present league is a shining example of the fact. It is doing a real but feeble work where what is needed is definite, uncompromising, sweeping grip on the whole situation. Machinery is not, of course, the main thing; it is not the guns, but the men behind the guns, which count. Energy for doing or enabling power must be infused into and reside in the sovereign individuals of the member nations. The motive power of the machinery is a well-informed public opinion, exercising itself in free discussion, but without the machinery the most intelligent and energetic opinion is helpless.

The detail of this matter of machinery is peculiarly a matter for experts, not for critics, but certain general lines for operations, for which special machinery will be needed, may be pointed out even by laymen.

In the first place, such a league will furnish machinery for coöperative thinking. The Peace Conference did this to some extent, and the league covenant makes a first provision for this in its debate or discussion aspect by a body which can do nothing else. The trouble with the Conference was that it did not operate its machinery or do much coöperative thinking. It had a certain amount of fact-finding machinery, which was allowed to fall into disuse, and coöperative thinking was also progressively scrapped when it was found to handicap action, until it was reduced to four men ready to act promptly without letting themselves be too much hampered by the slow processes of fact-finding and coöperative thinking.

The covenant of the present league seems to reflect this attitude, more or less, both in what it omits and what it provides for, but it does, in fact, provide for discussion and debate, and the league as formed does provide more or less fact-finding machinery, including a library and experts. A really effective league, however, must emphasize very greatly all the principles of coöperative thinking, of thinking before acting, and of fact-finding.

On the first count it will first add to its debating machinery the fullest possible provision to secure absolutely the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly. It will then make the fullest possible provision for stimulating newspaper, local and home discussion, and, where necessary, registering the conclusions of this universal coöperation and discussion by vote. The machinery of such matters was very fully developed by the various propaganda agencies during the war, and has been practiced by

educational propaganda. It seems to be essential to a democratic success of an international league, for the necessity lies in the nature of individual self-sovereignty.

It will provide, farther, for expert discussion and the preparation of material by experts for consideration by the debating body; also rules to make sure that the discussion there is thorough, and especially that it takes account both of organized public opinion and of expert opinion.

Still farther, it will see to it that all discussion is founded on fact. To this end it will set up fact-finding machinery of the utmost possible efficiency for research fact-finding in all aspects of world society with which the league will have dealings in a practical manner—ethnological, linguistic, economic, religious, etc.

Following this machinery of legislation, it will provide machinery for securing the definition and equal observance of rights. As provision must be made for thinking before acting, so in this matter provision must be made for trial before execution, for courts before police.

This calls for the ordinary machinery of courts, legal fact-finding through the processes of evidence, cross-examination, expertness and discussion, and law-finding by expert judging and expert counsel. It involves also, on a very large scale under the world circumstances, the machinery for receiverships, guardianships, and mandates for minor, backward, bankrupt, spendthrift, insane and criminal nations.

It will farther provide the machinery for coöperation in production, both of ideas and of economic goods. The analogy for this machinery will be found in the regular national bureaus of education, commerce, and the like; but, in the nature of the situation, it will have a much more definite purpose of organizing production and much more regard to a foundation of fact-finding machinery, both in scientific and applied research—i. e., experiment stations and commercial museums on the one hand, and research foundations on the other, each class pushed to a high power. In particular, it will involve a machinery—which must be very extensive indeed—for assigning to each nation the field of production for which its resources, material, labor and skill gives special aptitude and ability to produce a greater quantity than any other nation.

This is more than national governments now attempt or can attempt through their bureaus, and it seems to erect so powerful a machine that many will be fearful that it will result in high despotic centralization and paternal government for the control of education, economic affairs, etc.; but it seems, under present world conditions, to be absolutely the only way

of adjusting the world so that it can remain in peace and permanent freedom.

Its machinery for the promotion of education must be equally efficient, and must be applied with a firm hand by all guardians and mandatories to immature nations, and the spirit must be kept alive in the member nations, not only to the point of universal literacy, but to such knowledge of the meaning of rights and economic laws that all can understand and follow public discussion of such matters.

Again, it will furnish machinery for the promotion of the principle of kindness in all its senses of agreement, consciousness of kind, likemindedness, unity, kinship and simple kindness. The essence of this matter is, of course, promotion of the spirit of recognizing in others those ideas which agree with our own, the points of likeness or likeableness, and the effort to reach agreement—the ordinary business principle of coming, through the exchange of ideas, to an understanding which is profitable to both parties. This includes provision for the weak, hospitals, etc.

Again, it will need to provide, of course, some police organization to "enforce peace," protect rights, and see that court decisions are carried into effect.

Finally, it will equally, of course, provide machinery for its own administrative operations, and provide that it is in itself and all its operations responsible, not to governments, but to individual self-governing citizens.

(11) **It will hold fast to all that is good in the present covenant; all of its principles, and much machinery.**

(12) **It will proceed in its work with the overmastering and uncompromising passion for truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.**

The fidelity to truth and the trust in the power of truth, applied by the use of words to the changing of men's minds, is of the essence of the whole contract. It is, farther, of the essence of Christianity and of a really Christian league, for it accepts the universe. It receives the order of nature as a fact; it recognizes the principles of coöperation, kindness, good faith, trust and equality as the experience of mankind as to what will work in the universe as natural law, therefore, or as the will of God, according to the point of view. From the Christian point of view, this is faithfulness to, trust in, and coöperation with—in short, the love of "Truth," or Jesus Christ.

Summary.

This summary memorandum suggestion of what a Christian league should be and do is intended to be anything but dogmatic. It is hardly even a contribution. It is rather a summary of generally acknowledged matters, and its upshot is simply the present league revised by a proper constitutional convention, fully representative of the ultimate sovereign citizens, with abundant opportunity of public discussion, as well as publicity of the discussion by representatives, and all carried on in good faith, and executed in good faith under the principle of equal rights and in the spirit of kindness.

V.

Method and Program.

This committee is expressly excluded from organized promotion. Its function is research; it leaves execution to already organized forces.

By the same token, however, the committee is charged with aiding organized Christianity to know what the religious outlook calls for, and how it may be attempted by the organized instrumentalities. The object of this memorandum is to suggest to the committee that its studies of the psychology of the men in the field and in the church at home, the effect on their reactions to the war on the industrial and missionary outlook, the bearing of all this on church unity and on the method of religious progress or education, lacks a capstone and misses the most significant and comprehensive of all the lessons of the war for the religious outlook if it does not put a final touch to its work by at least linking up the problems of church unity and world unity, and making its modest contribution to their solution.

The long analysis of Christian commonplaces which has led up to this suggestion has had the single purpose of showing in detail the simple fact that the dominant idea of the Christian religion is that world unity and church unity are, in the end, one in the kingdom of Jesus Christ on earth, which is the reign of peace and freedom, where the will of God, as expressed in the words of Jesus Christ, is the actual rule of conduct.

This is the object which Jesus Christ himself set early for his followers in the Lord's prayer, "Thy kingdom come," and His idea of the underlying method (which is coöperation), of the essence of this method (which is unity, agreement or kindness), and of the basis of unity (which is truth), is given

in His own prayer for his followers, near the end, when he had "accomplished the work" given Him to do, by gathering, organizing and instructing a group of men, likeminded with Himself in this purpose. "I pray for them . . . that they may be one, even as we are" . . . "for them also that believe in me through their word: that they may be one, even as we are one." "Sanctifying them in the truth: thy word is truth."

This is, in fact, also the great lesson of the war for the religious outlook. Permanent peace and freedom was the great object which roused men to enter the war to end war. Military success came only when it was realized that coöperation meant unity—if not unity of command, at least unity of objective and of plan.

A true league of nations for permanent liberty and peace is thus the political counterpart of Christ's kingdom of peace and freedom, and the essential principles are the same for both: coöperation, kindness, good faith, trust, equal observance of rights. The first task of both is unity, agreement or organization; the will to coöperate, together with the machinery of coöperation, on the basis of the facts.

A natural program, for Christians at least, calls, first, for church unity, then for world unity. A better analysis for purpose of program is, however, unity of effort in (1) securing a league, (2) forming the league, and (3) operating the league.

The method of unity under all three headings is the same, and it involves: (1) a common object; (2) the spirit of kindness, agreement, adjustment, the will to be likeminded, which involves the will to find good in the ideas of others—in short, the will to like to be liked; (3) coöperative thinking, in this case as to the particular objects for prayer; (4) coöperative prayer or the coöperative effort of two or more to enlist the aid of Omnipotence in a verbally expressed agreement as to something wanted; (5) coöperative effort to change men's minds by means of words; (6) faith or fidelity—i. e., persistence in the effort to be kind, the effort to change men's minds, and, above all, the effort to enlist Omnipotent aid.

Securing a League.

The effort to secure unity of effort seems to call, first, for church unity, then world unity. The church cannot very well agitate for world unity when it cannot even unite its own members. On the other hand, there is nothing which will tend so to unite all churches as the common aim of a league or the kingdom. The program first calls, therefore, for casting off

the reproach of lack of unity among the churches and then proceeding with clearer vision to get the coöperation of non-Christians.

The program thus leads from (1) a union of the half dozen existing leagues for promoting Protestant church unity to (2) a union of British and American Protestant churches, (3) a union of all Protestant churches, (4) united effort with the Roman Catholic church, (5) union with other Christian churches, (6) enlisting Jewish coöperation, (7) Mohammedan, Confucian, Buddhist, agnostic, etc., coöperation.

Now, the secret of unity being a common object of effort, and the willingness to bend the mind on points of likeness rather than points of difference, it seems evident that the mere idea of the Christian league is itself a practical and sufficient bond of unity, if well-disposed men everywhere will work for some effective agency, whether it be called a league or the kingdom, to ensure permanent peace and freedom. If, farther, the ideal can be carried to the point of a league holding to the principles of coöperation, kindness, good faith, trust and equal observance of rights, it becomes by so much a fuller and stronger bond.

At a meeting of the Committee on Church Unity, when attention was called to the fact that a Roman Catholic prelate led both Protestants and Catholics in the Lord's prayer, it was pointed out that a Jewish rabbi might likewise pray, or a Mohammedan, "Thy kingdom come." If this is true, of course, so much the better, but even a general political league on these principles, if made a working purpose, is a sufficient unifier to ensure the success of the league, even if all elements work quite independently for this same object. If they can manage even the very slightest organized coöperation for thinking and planning together, it will add immensely to the power of the movement, and, by the nature of human thinking, to the quality of the result gained, and such organization for a practical end is at least not wholly unthinkable. It makes little difference whether this committee is under the direction of the pope or the archbishop of Canterbury or of a layman.

Surely Christians might work together for and in such non-ecclesiastical committee for a practical political league, if they would only recall and practice that fundamental principle of human nature and Christ's doctrine which is implied in the terms kindness, consciousness of kind, likemindedness, charity—that will to like and be liked, the will to think of and appreciate whatever is likeable in the other—in short, simply to like what does in fact agree with one's own ideas.

An illustration of the possibility here is in the experience of the writer of this memorandum in the winter of 1913-14, which he spent on the continent. As had been his custom for thirty years at frequent intervals, he made a point of hearing every possible variety of preacher, Protestant or Roman Catholic, in the various countries. During this trip he heard in France, from both Protestants and Catholics, sermons of such surprising quality, both in their religious thinking and in their spiritual tone, as to remind of the days of Calvin and of St. Francis. For themselves, and in contrast with previous years, this produced an impression of extraordinary spiritual awakening in France, of the most sympathetic character, on standards of the very best religious experience of history. Again, in France, Switzerland and Italy he heard, over and over again, and with only one marring case, in the Roman Catholic preaching, both that fine spiritual note reminding of the best years of the thirteenth century revival on the one hand, and on the other the most modern, sympathetic, practical sermons confronting the present-day problems, in the simplest, most direct manner. What was doubly interesting to a Protestant was that they were uniformly shot through and through with the spirit and language of the gospel. They were, like all the modern Catholic preaching, and like the thirteenth century preaching, preeminently Biblical, evangelical, gospel preaching. Without neglecting the special doctrines of the church, they were almost invariably centered, with great simplicity, on the person of Jesus Christ. The present writer was so much impressed by this, both as to the matter of the national French revival and as to the three aspects of the Catholic preaching, that he wrote to his denominational paper in the matter. Now, it is easy enough for an American who sees this fine religious spirit in France, or a Protestant who sees the things which he most admires exhibited in simplicity in Catholic operations, to be willing to coöperate formally. The same thing must be true in its degree also of anyone who reads the Old Testament teachings as to kindness, love of God and neighbor, and the rest in the wish to coöperate with the Jews, and it is surprising how universally these principles of kindness, good faith and justice are found in all the great religious books. It doesn't seem, therefore, too much to hope that mere willingness on their part to recognize existing likeness should produce in them a willingness to approve in us what we approve in them. Certainly the mere holding persistently to the common object and the willingness to like and be like will inevitably, by the nature of things, produce a growing unity, which sooner or later will take on self-conscious and organized form.

Forming a League.

The same processes and psychological principles which govern the production of unity for securing a league apply to getting the nations together. Holding as the common object a league to ensure permanent freedom and peace, nations have only to become conscious of their points of likeness in order to produce an automatic unity which will tend to become formal, and by this formal unity, nations, like denominations in a church or individuals in a nation, will tend, not to become merged, but rather to be strengthened in their individualities.

The program at this point obviously calls, first, for a union of British and American interests. The body of resemblances formed through their common ideas, expressed in common language and literature, and perhaps even more definitely their common ideas as to self-sovereignty and rights as expressed in their common law and their methods of legal procedure, together with similar resemblances in their religious ideas and practices, make the proposition one almost accomplished.

Here, again, the writer's own experience gives vivid illustration to himself. He was in Europe during the Spanish-American war, and followed public opinion closely throughout—all over in Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, and especially Italy and Austria. With the Manila incident to crown the experience, he never doubted that if a settled world were ever to come it must be by Great Britain and America first casting out their beams. He renewed this impression often and again vigorously in 1913-14. As with church unity, so long as nations who are so much alike will not cling to the likenesses instead of differences, how can they expect others to really unite? Let them cast out their beams and it is easy to prophesy that they will see clearly how to help all to cast out their moles.

To proceed from Anglo-American likemindedness to French and Italian unity, in view of the strong body of common ideas developed during the war, together with the growing religious points of sympathy referred to, and with many political ideas in common, should not be difficult, and it only needs the unswerving fixing of the mind on the points of likeness or kindness, the continuous unremitting will to find and appreciate likeness where it exists, to gradually even unite us with our late enemies.

Unity of Operation.

This is getting beyond the limits of this memorandum and even of its objective, but the right operation of a right league will depend on these

same factors of keeping its purpose of permanent peace and freedom steadily in hand, exercising kindness as the will to like and be like, exercising the method of changing men's minds by means of words, of coöperative thinking, of prayer and coöperative prayer, and of faith as the persistent will to trust and be faithful, especially to be faithful to the task set, unrelaxingly, until it is accomplished.

This, then, is the situation: object, program and method. The main responsibility for realizing this object—permanent peace and freedom through a right league founded on truth—is upon the strongly organized bodies, such the Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran churches chiefly; but it is also directly upon the smallest Protestant denomination and upon this committee. If it does not come to pass, the responsibility will rest upon this committee, and because no two of them can agree as touching this one thing with sufficient persistence in the exercise of kindness, coöperative thinking and coöperative prayer for Omnipotent aid.

No doubt the non-religious, perhaps even non-Christians, will smile at all this as ideal and naive, but they have all failed. The world problem is with us still. If Christianity is not a fact, then there is nothing in this. If Christianity is a fact, there is everything in it. It can be done. The Omnipotent power of Truth is pledged to it.

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